FBIS DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 146 *28 July 1983*

CSCE/MBFR/DISARMAMENT

E. Bloc Reports on Senate MX Funding Approval BB 1
GDR Report BB 1
CSSR Report BB 1

ALBANIA

U.S. 'Shame, Failure' at Panmunjom Recalled [BASHKIMI 27 Jul] B 1

BULGARIA

Reagan Seen Wanting War in Central America [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 29 Jul] C 1
Press Attacks on U.S. C. America Policy C 1
Kuwaiti Chief of Staff Makes Official Visit C 2
Received by Semerdzhiev [Kuwait ARAB TIMES 21/22 Jul] C 2
Military Exercises Viewed [KUNA] C 2
Leaders at Cuban Anniversary Meeting in Sofia C 3
Party-Government Delegation Returns From Nicaragua C 3

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

President's Remarks on C. America Examined D 1
Franciscan Order Suspects Released D 1
Haman-Led Delegation To Attend Cuban Celebration D 1
Pancreas Transplant Patient Needs No Insulin D 2
[RUDE PRAVO 7 Jul]

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Radio Comments on Reagan's Press Conference E 1
ADN Reports Strauss Comments on E. Bloc Tour E 1
GDR Citizens Criticize Regime's Intolerance E 3
Mittag Meets With Nicaraguan Minister in Cuba E 5
More on Meeting E 6
Fischer, Cuba's Malmierca Discuss Relations E 6

HUNGARY

Budapest on Reagan's Central American Policy [Bernat] F 1
Portuguese CP Leader on Vacation; Meets Kadar F 1
Press Material on Kadar's Visit to USSR F 2
NEPSZABADSAG Editorial [24 Jul] F 2
MAGYAR HIRLAP Views Visit [26 Jul] F 4
Havasi Outlines Economic Tasks in PRAVDA Article [cross-reference] F 5

POLAND

Warsaw Comments on Reagan Press Conference G 1
Statement Termed 'Interference' G 1
C. American Policies Outlined [Dziemidowicz] G 1
POLITYKA Examines Results of Papal Visit G 2
[Szczepanski, 23 Jul]
Foreign Trade Delegation Visits Australia G 5
Jaruzelski, Jablonski Meet With Diplomats G 5
Three Solidarity Leaders Request Amnesty G 7
Mazur Reads Statement G 7
Wroclaw Reports 44 Freed From Isolation Centers G 8
Prosecutors' Tasks Resulting From Amnesty Noted [TRYBUNA LUDU 25 Jul] G 8
New Law 'Freezes' Benefits, Allowances G 9
Agenda for Sejm Session Scheduled 28 Jul G 9
Rakowski on Implications of Ninth Party Congress [POLITYKA 23 Jul] G 10

ROMANIA

Romanian-Mozambican Joint Declaration [SCINTEIA 21 Jul] H 1
Dascalescu, Egypt's Premier Start Talks H 7
Dinner for Muhyi ad-Din H 8

YUGOSLAVIA

'Arafat's Visit Continues; Honored at Dinner I 1
Spiljak Gives Dinner I 1
Talks Held I 1
Sundic on Rebellion Within Fatah I 2
Further on FRG Visit by Foreign Secretary Mojsov I 2
'Yugoslav Statement' I 2
FRG Reportage [cross-reference] I 4
Ckrebic Leads Delegation to Cuban Celebration I 4

E. BLOC REPORTS ON SENATE MX FUNDING APPROVAL

GDR Report

LD271443 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1155 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] Washington, 27 Jul (ADN) -- By a 58-41 vote the U.S. Senate approved the production of the first 27 MX intercontinental missiles and made $2.5 billion available for this purpose. The new weapons system for a nuclear first-strike is to be stationed in the states of Nebraska and Wyoming. The House of Representatives last week approved the building of these missiles.

The Reagan administration plans to construct 100 of these strategic missiles, which have 10 nuclear warheads each. The MX is part of an "arms procurement program" with an increased arms drive in mind, for the financial year beginning on 1 October for which the Senate has made available some $200 billion.

In the debate, Senator Edward Kennedy described the MX system as a radical escalation of the arms race that cannot be justified by anything.

CSSR Report

LD271902 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] The U.S. Senate has approved the financing of production and deployment of the first batch of MX missiles. Michael Stasz, our permanent New York correspondent, has sent the following dispatch:

[Stasz] Seventeen votes decided the assignment of over 2 and 1/2 billion dollars for the production and deployment of 27 intercontinental MX missiles with 10 nuclear warheads each. Despite this, the voting reveals that in comparison with the May vote on a similar issue, the opposition to this type of missile has strengthened. Funds have been approved for this military program in spite of forceful opposition on the part of some members of the Senate who have said that the missiles are unnecessary from the military point of view, and that they would only increase tension between the United States and the USSR. According to Senator Hart, one of the Senate's chief opponents of the missiles, the decision made yesterday is incorrect from both a military and an economic standpoint. It is truly horrible from the point of view of the morale of the U.S. population. Other members of the Senate, too, criticized the attitude of their colleagues. Senator Moynihan said that yesterday's voting shows that the United States has its finger on the trigger.

The voting in the Senate is considered a great victory for Reagan who, since last year, has been trying under various pretexts to push the missile issue. The production and deployment of the first batch of MX missiles was authorized several days ago also by the second congressional chamber, the House of Representatives.

U.S. 'SHAME, FAILURE' AT PANMUNJOM RECALLED

AU271222 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] Tirana, July 27 /ATA/ -- The newspaper BASHKIMI carries today an article under the above title which says among the other things:

Today, the Korean people celebrate the 30th anniversary of the triumph of the great patriotic struggle for the liberation of the homeland.

No more than two years had gone by since the proclamation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people had to clash again with the imperialist enemies. On June 25, 1950, the U.S. imperialists and their Seoul puppets launched an armed criminal aggression against the DPR of Korea. The U.S. crimes perpetrated there were monstruous.

Further on the newspaper points out that the 3 year heroic struggle of Korean people compelled the enemies to withdraw with shame and failure and to sign the ceasefire agreement in Panmunjom on July 27, 1953. The Albanian people powerfully backed up the patriotic struggle of the Korean people and forcefully condemed the criminal aggression and barbarous cirmes of U.S. imperialism.

After speaking of the victories attained by the Korean people over these three decades in different branches of economy such as in industry, agriculture, education, culture, art, health service, the newspaper stresses:

The situation on the Korean peninsula continues to be tense, because of the presence of the U.S. occupation troops in South Korea. The U.S. imperialists and the Chon Tu-hwan clique have not given up their aggressive and ominous plans to destroy the free and independent life of the Korean people in the north of the country.

For this aim, the newspaper BASHKIMI writes, they have turned South Korea into a base of aggression against the DPR of Korea and the other Asian peoples. Scores of thousands of U.S. soldiers have been stationed in South Korea and their number keeps increasing from year to year. Even the U.S. top officials have openly expressed themselves that they do not intend to leave from the southern part of the Korean peninsula. For this they have armed the U.S. and South Korean soldiers with the most up to date weapons, even with nuclear weapons. It is for these reasons that the people in the northern part of the peninsula, alongside the constructive work, devoted special and constant care to their training to preserve intact the attained victories, to foil the plans of the enemies and to achieve the reunification of the country.

In conclusion BASHKIMI writes:

The Albanian people who follow with sympathy the constructive work of the Korean people, support their just struggle for the ousting of the U.S. imperialists from South Korea and the independent reunification of the country. In this anniversary of their patriotic struggle our people extend to the Korean people cordial greetings, wishes them further successes for the progress and prsperity of the DPR of Korea and back up the efforts and struggle of the Korean people for the ousting of the U.S. imperialists from South Korea and the independent reunification of the homeland. In this day of celebration we wish that the friendly relations between our two peoples and countries develop in the future too.

REAGAN SEEN WANTING WAR IN CENTRAL AMERICA

AU201142 Sofia BTA in English 0845 GMT 20 Jul 83

["Behind the Screen of the Two-Party Commission" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 20 (BTA) -- RABOTNICHESKO DELO comments today on the policy of the United States of America in Central America, as well as on certain new moments in this sphere proceeding from the speech of Ronald Reagan before the Congress of the dockers trade union in Hollywood. The organ of the CC of the BCP maintains that from the rostrum of this congress the American President has made his sharpest attacks so far against the Soviet Union, Cuba and Nicaragua, accusing them in the "first truly communist aggression" in the "American Hemisphere". The newspaper stresses that actually behind the smoke screen of these slanders Ronald Reagan expressed his intention to continue the "undeclared war" against the freedom-loving peoples in these parts of the world.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO solidarizes with the statement of the American Congressman, Bill Alexander, who maintains that the nine-member "national two-party commission" on Central America, set by the American President, will lead solely to an escalation of the intervention in that part of the world. The newspaper also quotes Senator Christopher Dodd, that the U.S. Administration has been pursuing and offering one and the same policy in Central America, changing regularly only its wrappings.

PRESS ATTACKS ON U.S. C. AMERICA POLICY

AU231356 Sofia BTA in English 0835 GMT 23 Jul 83

["Tension Reaches a Peak" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 23 (BTA) -- The naval blockade of Nicaragua which was referred to by President Reagan in his recent speech, would fully untie the hands of the Honduran Army and the Somozist gangs supported by it, which with the previous aid of Washington alone are obviously unable to attain their military and political goals against the Sandinista revolution, today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO commentary reads.

The daily points out that now the danger of an armed conflict between Honduras and Nicaragua is reaching a peak, all the more so that Honduras rejected Nicaragua's latest peace initiative of proposing the conclusion of a peace treaty on nonassault between the two countries, and accepted the idea of mutilateral negotiations as a first step in searching for a political solution to the problems of Central America. The refusal of Honduras to accept this peace initiative reflects the standpoint of its ruler -- the United States -- and its intention to approach the problems in Central America by military pressure, RABOTNICHESKO DELO points out.

Dwelling on the tour of Reagan's special envoy to Central America, Richard Stone, the daily points out that for a long time now, the USA has been exerting behind the scenes very insistent pressure on the governments of the Central American countries.

It is naive to think, NARODNA ARMIYA comments, that the "gunboat policy" and the "big stick" policy, so convenient and often resorted to by imperialism till recently, can bring the previous results to it now, too. Times have changed today and the balance on powers on a world scale is not the same either.

KUWAITI CHIEF OF STAFF MAKES OFFICIAL VISIT

Received by Semerdzhiev

GF221148 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 21/22 Jul 83 p 5

[Text] Sofia, July 20 (KUNA) -- Kuwait's Chief of Staff General 'Abdallah Faraj al-Ghanim, expressed appreciation and pride at this country's friendship with Bulgaria and at Sofia's understanding of the situation in the Arab world.

"We appreciate and are proud of the Kuwait-Bulgarian friendship and will not forget its positive role in understanding the problems of the Arab world", he said on arrival here last night on an official visit at the invitation of his Bulgarian counterpart, General Semerdzhiev.

Semerdzhiev, who received Al-Ghanim at the airport, praised Bulgaria's relations with Kuwait in particular and with the Arab world in general, wishing the Arab nation unity and solidarity and the Lebanese crisis a speedy settlement.

He said Bulgaria supports the creation of an independent Palestinian state and appealed to the PLO and Syria to patch up their differences in order to achieve that objective.

A second round of official talks between the Bulgarian and Kuwaiti delegations on scopes of military cooperation were held later today. Al-Ghanim is accompanied by a high-powered delegation including senior Air Force and Army officers.

Military Exercises Viewed

LD231126 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0716 GMT 23 Jul 83

[Text] Sofia, 23 Jul (KUNA) -- Major General 'Abdallah Faraj al-Ghanim, Kuwait's chief of General Staff, is continuing an official visit to Bulgaria that started last Wednesday.

Maj Gen Al-Ghanim yesterday observed military exercises in which various weapons were used, and held talks with the Bulgarian Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Andrey Lukanov.

Later, he met with Lukanov and held talks attended by the Kuwaiti ambassador, followed by a plenary meeting between the delegations of the two countries.

Maj Gen Al-Ghanim and Lukanov during the meeting talked about the progress in relations between their countries and the friendship that links them. The talks also dealt with the use of Bulgarian expertise in Kuwait.

The deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers praised the visit of the Amir of Kuwait to Bulgaria and stressed that it greatly and beneficially contributed to strengthening relations between the two friendly countries and the development of cooperation between them in various spheres.

Lukanov stressed the need to stop the Iraqi-Iranian war. He said, "I do not find any justification for the continuation of this war. Bulgaria hopes that it will end as quickly as possible because Eastern Europe and Bulgaria are committed to a policy of friendship and cooperation, and we believe that it is beneficial for the war to end."

He expressed his confidence about the need to strengthen bonds of friendship with the Arab countries, including the Gulf states, and expressed his country's readiness to extend the necessary expertise to these Gulf states in all spheres, if they so wish.

Maj Gen Al-Ghanim spoke. He said, "Our relations will be stronger after the visit of the chief of staff of the Bulgarian Army to Kuwait."

He added that "Kuwait is carrying out an important role in the Gulf Cooperation Council and it supports the stopping of the Iranina-Iraqi war because these countries are neighbors and friends of Kuwait."

Maj Gen Al-Ghanim thanked Bulgarian officials for the warm welcome he and members of the Kuwaiti delegation were received with and for the hospitality extended to them.

At he end of the meeting, Maj Gen Al-Ghanim presented Lukanov with a gift.

LEADERS AT CUBAN ANNIVERSARY MEETING IN SOFIA

AU251843 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 25 Jul 83

[Text] A festive meeting was held in Sofia today to celebrate the Cuban national holiday. The meeting was attended by Comrades Kubadinski, Dimitur Stanishev, and Vasil Tsanov, as well as Julian (Alvarez) Rizo, member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat; Rogelio [name indistinct] Gonzalez, vice minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces; as well as Eustaquio Remedios de los Cuetos, Cuban Ambassador to Bulgaria.

In his report Comrade Pencho Kubadinski pointed out the exceptional historical importance of the 26 July movement for the defeat of reaction and terror. He described the revolutionary development of Cuba and the successes achieved in the last 30 years and dwelled on the comprehensive Bulgarian-Cuban cooperation.

PARTY-GOVERNMENT DELEGATION RETURNS FROM NICARAGUA

AU271914 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] The Bulgarian party-government delegation led by Colonel General Velko Palin, BCP Central Committee member and chief of the Military-Administration Department at the BCP Central Committee, which had attended the celebrations on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua, has returned home.

PRESIDENT'S REMARKS ON C. AMERICA EXAMINED

LD270845 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0730 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] Last night the U.S. Senate approved $4.6 billion for the production of the first 27 MX missiles. The program for these missiles, each with 10 independently targetable warheads, has a number of opponents in the United States who say that this expensive weapon will make talks with the USSR on strategic arms limitation more difficult.

A few hours ago, a press conference given by President Reagan ended in Washington. He spoke about the U.S. stance in Central America. Our permanent correspondent Michal Stasz informs us:

Reagan began his 19th press conference with an introductory statement in which he read the contents of a letter to Central American heads of state. In this statement he tried to minimize the U.S. decision to send a large naval group and numerous troops to the crisis-ridden area by presenting it as a routine act, which happens on a regular basis.

Journalists, naturally, concentrated also on the increase of tension caused by the United States. The President kept defending himself by saying that this is an innocent military exercise and that actually he does not know too much about it, just as he knew very little about the previous exercise in Honduras. As expected, he refused to make comparisons between U.S. behavior in Central America and the beginning of the war in Vietnam. Reagan also denied that there are plans to increase the number of U.S. troops in El Salvador, although the Pentagon spoke openly of this possibility a few days ago.

The President went on to confirm that under certain circumstances, the U.S. Army could use arms in alleged self-defense. This naturally and justifiably evokes the question of what would be considered self-defense. The provocation in the Libyan Gulf of Sidra was called self-defense, while it had been planned in advance to such an extent that it was not even found necessary to wake Reagan to inform him about it and about the skirmish with the Libyan planes.

FRANCISCAN ORDER SUSPECTS RELEASED

AU271918 Vienna Domestic Television Service in German 1730 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] The Czechoslovak authorities have now released all the persons arrested this spring during the police action against the Franciscan Order. The arrested persons had been charged with illegally disseminating religious literature. Originally, all the arrested persons were to be put on trial . Their release came as a complete surprise.

HAMAN-LED DELEGATION TO ATTEND CUBAN CELEBRATION

LD241325 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 24 Jul 83

[Text] A party and government delegation led by Josef Haman, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, left for Havana today. The delegation will attend the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the storming of the Moncada Barracks, by which Cuban revolutionaries and patriots, headed by Fidel Castro, started the decisive struggle for independence and revolutionary changes in Cuba.

PANCREAS TRANSPLANT PATIENT NEEDS NO INSULIN

WA221900 Prague PUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jul 83 p 2

[Text] Prague 7 July (CTK) -- The first concurrent pancreatic gland and kidney transplant in a socialist country, performed on 26 June at the Institute of Clinical and Experimental medicine (IKEM) in Prague-Krc, on a 32-year-old female patient suffering serious diabetes since age 11, is part of a long-term research program to develop and improve transplanting of life-sustaining organs. In this case, a new operating technique, developed by an IKEM medical team under the supervision of Prof Vladimir Kocandrle, MD, Dr Sc, has been used.

The patient is in very good clinical condition following the operation, and the functioning of the transplanted organs is satisfactory. In contrast to the pre-operation period, she no longer requires insulin or artificial kidney dialysis treatments. A comprehensive postoperative treatment is aimed at suppressing the immune mechanism's defense against the transplanted organs and at combating infection, especially demanding in the case of diabetics.

The transplant program for life-sustaining organs within the CSSR and CEMA countries is being coordinated by IKEM. Clinical kidney transplants, almost routinely performed at a number of locations in the CSSR -- and in cooperation with other CEMA states within the Intertransplant framework -- as well as liver transplants, started not too long ago at the surgical clinic of the Brno University Hospital and, finally, there are the prospective heart transplants, also to be done at IKEM under the supervision of Prof Kocandrle, which are another part of this program. This is the result of the high standards of Czechoslovakia's health service and medical research, which provide for the most modern patient medical care in the shortest possible time. Thus, for example, pancreas transplants have been performed in only about 250 cases in seven locations in the entire world, and only the latest results have been successful.

Diabetes, or an endocrinological action dysfunction of the pancreatic gland is one of the five most prevalent diseases in the contemporary world -- in our country alone, at least 3 percent of the population is suffering from it. Even the most perfect care cannot prevent its onset and a development of complications, which are increasing in number as patient life-span lengthens in relative terms. The most serious of these problems is damage caused to the kidneys, the optical and nervous systems, ischemic heart and lower extremities conditions, etc. Therefore, together with the prospective development of the diabetological program, it was decided to initiate the pancreatic gland transplant as an effective method in prevention of the onset and development of complications, as well as their treatment.

The IKEM physicians also have considerable experience with the organization of transplants, blood vessel surgery, organ conservation, immunosuppression, anesthesiology, and the treatment of patients during and after the operation, gained from the clinical kidney transplant. This laid the ideal groundwork during the first half of this year for the first pancreatic gland transplant in human medicine.

The operation itself, which was considerably accelerated by the unexpected find of the necessary transplant organ from a suitable donor, was performed by a team of about 15 doctors, nurses, and laboratory assistants, for whom it meant 8 hours of demanding, difficult, and exacting labor on a hot June day. This was followed by systematic attention for the developing functions of the transplanted organs and for the patient's total medical condition.

RADIO COMMENTS ON REAGAN'S PRESS CONFERENCE

DW271253 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] U.S. President Reagan gave a press conference last night on the subject of Central America, a subject which has created growing concerns everywhere. Previously, it was said that Reagan wanted to put the perspectives of his Central America policy in the proper light again. Guenther Leuschner comments on the President's statements on these perspectives:

All of the U.S. Government's recent actions regarding Central America -- the dispatch of a naval force, the stationing of ground troops in Honduras, and speculation on a blockade -- have created serious concern within and far outside this region about what else Washington might be planning. Journalists and congressmen have repeatedly recalled Vietnam, the initial stages of that aggression, and its end. In this connection, Reagan's press conference last night was only supposed to soothe people and mitigate criticism of his Latin America policy. Actually, nothing had happened, Reagan said, there had always been maneuvers, and he did not want to shed blood. In Vietnam everything had been different, and in addition, the press must be blamed for reporting too much on military issues.

Basically, this was all the President had to say. Yet, there is one more thing. Asked whether the outbreak of a war might be possible after all, Reagan said one could never say never, and if there were something like a terrorist attack on U.S. units in Central America, then they would of course shoot back. Does this suggest a scenario for further developments? Will there be a second Gulf of Tonkin affair? This question naturally remained open.

It can hardly be assumed -- and initial commentaries have already shown this -- that Reagan will achieve his goal with this press conference, because the government does not intend to change anything about the causes of this crisis. Those who say that the most large-scale military maneuvers for many months are normal, will naturally not call them off. Those who do not even mention Nicaragua's proposals on a settlement do not intend to consider them. Not a word was said at the press conference about discontinuing support for the counterrevolutionaries. This support will even be intensified.

The dispatch of at least 4,000 U.S. ground troops to Honduras, which became known several hours before the President's appearance, makes useless all appeasement attempts, as does the President's evasive and noncommittal answer to the urgent appeal of the states of the Contadora Group. Thus everything remains as it was following the press conference. The danger has not decreased at all. People in the United States will continue to remember Vietnam whenever Reagan's Central America policy is discussed. The President certainly did not manage last night to repress the memory of it.

ADN REPORTS STRAUSS COMMENTS ON E. BLOC TOUR

LD272343 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2030 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] Munich 27 Jul (ADN) -- The Bavarian prime minister and chairman of the CSU, Franz-Josef Strauss, at a press conference in Munich on Wednesday spoke of his talk with the general secretary of the Central Committee of the SED and chairman of the State Council of the GDR, Erich Honecker, and of his private visit to the CSSR, the People's Republic of Poland, and the GDR. Strauss, who returned to the FRG the previous day from Erfurt, spoke to about 100 journalists in the headquarters of the land executive of his party.

Franz-Josef Strauss said that Erich Honecker had told him in detail at the start of the talk at the Hubertusstock lodge about the views of the GDR on the current security problems. The State Council chairman of the GDR had stressed that a nuclear war was inconceivable. It was better to counter-negotiate than to counter-arm. He, Strauss, had replied that he also took the view that war was no longer a tool of politics, that the future belonged to peaceful competition between systems and that no war would emanate again from German soil. At the same time, he also stated that despite the consequences, it was out of the question that the Federal Republic would alter its position in the matter of missile deployment.

Strauss continued: "With my journey through the CSSR, Poland, and the GDR, I wanted to gain my own impressions. A sobering-up has taken place in relations with the GDR and the East European countries, and this is quite sensible." It could only be advantageous if one tried "to overcome the existing lack of knowledge."

At the beginning of the talk at Hubertusstock, Erich Honecker handed him several manuscripts setting out the position regarding the dangers and consequences of deployment of American nuclear missiles in the FRG and regarding numerous problems between the GDR and the FRG. He passed this material on to Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Federal Interior Minister Zimmermann, as the latter was to some extent responsible for these problems.

In his talk with the State Council chairman, Strauss went on to say that he kept to the maxim of Konrad Adenauer's politics: "To remain steadfast on principle, to act pragmatically on other issues." He himself had become more flexible in his choice of methods on policy towards the East.

The Bavarian prime minister said that the issues of counter-armament and possible counter-measures by the Eastern bloc had been the main focus of all talks with GDR state and party leader Erich Honecker, Deputy Polish Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski, and politicians in the CSSR. He had presented the FRG Government stance of absolute loyalty to the Western defense alliance. Strauss took pains to play down the consequences of the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles for the situation in Europe and relations between the two German states, to which Erich Honecker had emphatically referred. In this connection, he claimed that the danger of war in Europe was virtually nil. This view was not accepted by the other side, however.

Asked when a visit to the FRG by the chairman of the GDR State Council could be expected, Strauss said that now depended on the relevant preparations. However, he saw no reason "to erect fundamental or artificial mountains in the way of such a visit". He said that Erich Honecker had given him concrete answers to some individual questions which, as Bavarian prime minister, concerned him. For example, the GDR was prepared for experts' talks and agreements on questions of environmental protection and the further shaping of postal traffic. It could also be possible to sign a cultural agreement. Erich Honecker had also stated the GDR's readiness for experts' talks on the safety of nuclear plants in the border region. The climate of the talks was obviously such that one was willing to tackle the problems seriously.

Erich Honecker said that members of the GDR border troops were trying to behave generously in cases of violations of the state border from the FRG side, even though cases of a provocative nature had increased in number. In the first half of 1983 there had been 1,059 such cases compared with 867 in the first half of 1982.

The topic of the minimum money exchange requirement, Strauss said, had also been discussed in detail.

Strauss conceded that only during his trip had he realized what an enormous amount of money many people were making, some on a large scale, some on a small scale, by exploiting the black market exchange rate. He had also looked at the prices in the shops and inns in the GDR. Such low prices and the black market exchange rate were being misused by many people to enrich themselves. If a solution to this problem were to be found in the FRG, then the issue of the minimum exchange requirement would soon be sorted out. In the course of the press conference, the CSU chairman criticized Western press reports that said that there had been an "incident" during his visit to Dresden. No one had prevented anybody from contacting him, Strauss said.

GDR CITIZENS CRITICIZE REGIME'S INTOLERANCE

DW271245 Munich ARD Television Network in German 1900 GMT 26 Jul 83

[Heinz Klaus Mertes talk with unidentified GDR citizens waiting for the arrival of Franz-Josef Strauss in front of Dresden's Newa Hotel on 25 July -- recorded for the "Report" program -- DW]

[Text] [Mertes] The night before last in Dresden: About 200 people have gathered in front of the city's biggest hotel. They hope to be able to see and talk with Franz-Josef Strauss. The presence of many state security people cannot prevent them from saying what they think must be said. These are desperate voices, but also voices of valiant protest, and despite all recognition of realities, voices of hope for an improvement in the state of affairs.

[Female speaker] Things between the Federal Republic and us ought to be a bit more relaxed so that exit permits and vists...

[Mertes interrupting] What do you know about Franz-Josef Strauss, what kind of image does he have here?

[Male speaker] Initially, prior to the elections, it was somewhat reserved. But I hope that this has changed in the meantime because the flow of information has improved. We assume that more favorable conditions will be forthcoming now, what with the grant of credits and so forth.

[Mertes] Well, Franz-Josef Strauss sometimes uses no uncertain terms vis-a-vis the GDR Government. What do you think about that?

[Several people at the same time] That's exactly how to do it.

[Mertes] Don't you think that this might have a negative effect?

[Male speaker] No, this doesn't have any negative effect. I, for example, applied for an exit permit at least 3 years ago. I am a [word indistinct] and they won't let me go. This is absurd.

[Female speaker] It is my opinion that everyone only has one life to live, and must shape this life as he sees fit. Why are we punished just for living here?

[Male speaker] You can say that again.

[Mertes] Large parts of the dialogue with Erich Honecker predominantly dealt with the danger of war, counterarmament, and similar issues, that is to say, the general international situation. What is your view of that?

[Male speaker] People in the GDR speak only about NATO missiles, and I would say the GDR ought to first tend to its own business, whether or not the people in the Federal Republic come out against the SS-20 or against NATO missiles. The protest here is only against the NATO missiles, but as soon as anybody says anything against the SS-20, well, you know...

[Another male speaker] The politicians ought to take seriously what is written in the Basic Law, namely that they are obligated to do everything for Germany's reunification; but they go ahead and recognize the GDR. They needn't recognize us" we are here, we are Germans.

[Another male speaker] This situation occurs only in East bloc countries, be it Hungary, the CSSR, Romania, or Poland. Have you ever heard of a Dane or an Englishman escaping, or a Frenchman? Why is it only in the East bloc states? There must be something wrong there, don't you think?

[Female speaker] Something can be changed only if the truth, if all the facts, are placed openly on the table. Beating around the bush will not help.

[Mertes] We've had a change in government in the FRG. Do you believe that the CDU/CSU-led Government will use plainer language than was used in the era of the social-liberal coalition?

[Female speaker] Yes, definitely. The view here is that plainer language will be used and that they will say what's on their mind, especially vis-a-vis our state, and tell what the facts are and how they have to behave and act.

[Male speaker] On the other hand, one ought to pose the question quite generally whether human alleviations can be bought with money in all cases, whether this really is a basis of relations, buying human beings...

[Mertes] You mean the moral aspect?

[Same speaker] Yes, from the moral viewpoint. An exit ought to be possible even without the grant of credits.

[Another male speaker] The whole struggle over disarmament and the negotiations are good, to be sure, and I hope that there will not be another war, but I feel that in our country man's idea of freedom is being totally neglected under the cloak of disarmament. Everybody just talks about peace and disarmament, but nobody listens when it comes to human rights and liberties.

[Another male speaker] In our country that's a one-way street.

[Mertes] Are there any such peace discussions here in Dresden as well, especially since the city was so utterly destroyed in World War II?

[Male speaker] We are discussing this issue among our colleagues, too, but not as it is in your country where you can get together for this openly in the street. We are not allowed to do this here. This is prohibited and gatherings are disbanded.

[Mertes] Do you believe that as a result of this arms madness the Germans will again gain the feeling of being a community with a common destiny?

[Several people] Yes, let's hope so.

[Male speaker] Kohl's visit to Moscow will serve this end, as will today's visit here by Strauss. We hope that the number of these visits will constantly increase and become more fruitful to all of us so that all of us will profit and needn't worry about war anymore. All of us here are thinking of Dresden, seeing the ruins over there and how nicely everything is being rebuilt. Something like this must never recur. Especially this city reminds us of that.

[Mertes] Suppose Franz-Josef Strauss were to come by here. What would you tell him if you had a chance to talk to him briefly?

[Male speaker] We would like to have a talk with him. At least we here on this side [of the reporter]. All of us are people who have applied for exit permits. We've been waiting for several years already. Some have been kicked out of their factories or were deprived of their jobs.

[Another male speaker] What also matters here is the visiting permit. It isn't even possible for a citizen here to make a legal visit to the Federal Republic to see relatives. My wife's father was seriously ill 2 years ago in Munich. My wife's application for an exit permit was rejected, so she couldn't go. Now my wife is sick herself after brain surgery. She will never be able to go to Munich again to visit her father. This, I think, is inhuman behavior.

[Another male speaker] One should not take such a morose approach to the question of where Franz-Josef Strauss spends the night here. But it is nice that he can travel. That's what we want too, to travel. This is our view.

[Male speaker] Exactly.

[The former speaker continues] We want to travel while we are young and not when we are pensioners.

[Another male speaker] We feel that it is quite positive that you are here for a change.

[Mertes] The Dresdeners asked us expressly to broadcast their comments. They said that the GDR, too, at long last must become accustomed to what goes without saying, namely, that its citizens speak their minds. Besides, they said, what do we have to lose, anyway?

MITTAG MEETS WITH NICARAGUAN MINISTER IN CUBA

LD272302 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 2200 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] The GDR has assured the people of Nicaragua of firm support in the struggle to defend the revolution. It strongly opposes U.S. aggressive intentions in Central America, Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the SED Central Committee, said at a meeting with a member of the Sandinista leadership, Minister Henri Ruiz Hernandez. The two politicians were meeting on the periphery of the celebrations on the 30th anniversary of the storming of the Moncada Barracks.

They said that the United States is threatening above all Socialist Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and other countries. This is an extremely dangerous sharpening of tensions, such as Washington also intends for Europe.

Guenter Mittag said that the working people of the GDR are undertaking precisely in this situation special efforts to strengthen socialism and thus make their internationalist contribution to peace and anti-imperialist solidarity. It was agreed to continue the proven many-sided cooperation.

More on Meeting

LD272318 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1749 GMT 27 Jul 83

[First take of this two-ADN-take item not received. This is second ADN-take.]

[Text] [no dateline as received] Henri Ruiz Hernandez spoke about the extensive efforts of the Nicaraguan people, under the leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN], its revolutionary vanguard, to continue the process of farreaching social and economic change under the current conditions of constant counterrevolutionary attacks. The Nicaraguan people are determined to defend strongly the freedom won in long struggles.

Guenter Mittag gave the assurance that the GDR will continue to support the Nicaraguan people's just cause firmly and unswervingly. In Karl-Marx-Year 1983 especially, the working people of the GDR, under the leadership of the SED, are making particular efforts to strengthen socialism and thus make their internationalist contribution to the cause of peace and anti-imperialist solidarity.

Also taking part in the talk were: Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Oskar Fischer, member of the SED Central Committee and GDR foreign minister; Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and chief of the Central Committee International Relations Department; Ernesto Castillo, minister of labor of the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, [title as received] and Freth [name as received] Figueroa, member of the FSLN International Relations Department.

FISCHER, CUBA'S MALMIERCA DISCUSS RELATIONS

LD272132 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1747 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] Havana, 27 Jul (ADN) -- The GDR and Cuba believe that everything possible must be done to stop the continuing poisoning of the international situation. This was stated by the two states' foreign ministers, Oskar Fischer and Isidoro Malmierca, during a friendly meeting. The main thing is to abandon the course of arms build-up and confrontation and the imperialist policy of threats and violence, and to return to the path of reason and a peaceful balance of interests. All the conditions for this are present.

The foreign ministers expressed their satisfaction with the dynamically developing relations of firm friendship between the GDR and Cuba. They paid tribute to the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the GDR and Cuba, signed in 1980, which is providing an all-round stimulus to relations.

BUDAPEST ON REAGAN'S CENTRAL AMERICAN POLICY

LD271135 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Gyorgy Bernat commentary]

[Text] It is no accident that Reagan keeps repeating himself. The more often his domestic public, in particular, hears him, the more people he can expect to convince that he does not want to fight a war in Central America. This, perhaps, is the reason why his speech of Tuesday evening contained no significant new aspects compared with what he has already said before. There will be no war, he promised both last week and now. He went on to say that only military exercises are involved.

These exercises follow on from each other and thus continue for long periods. Skeptical observers recall a pharase from a comment made by the Panamanian president, a remark that went as follows: Why should they train for something that they do not intend to carry out?

At the same time Reagan also rejects the idea of holding talks on a settlement in Central America in accordance with the plans of those really involved in the conflict. He described Nicaragua's six-point proposal of 19 July as encouraging but not quite satisfactory. Let me recall that this particular proposal called for a halting of arms deliveries and in this it included all the sides involved in the fighting. It offered talks but this was turned down by Honduras, Nicaragua's immediate neighbor. The reason for this was obviously the rejection of this proposal in Washington. This is because the six-point proposal, described as unsatisfactory, does not meet the requirements of Washington, in accordance with which the U.S. interpretation of democracy should be set as an example for Central America. Reagan also added his main reason, namely, that he is not willing to have talks with the current leaders of Nicaragua.

The 12-strong special presidential committee -- the all-party group established under Kissinger's chairmanship -- has begun to suspect that its task is not so much to promote a peaceful solution but, rather, to lay the foundations in the theoretical sphere for military methods. In other words, it is expected to work out a long-term plan that could become the point of departure, as a study-report, for economic development to get underway after a settlement.

In addition to all this, the fact remains that aircraft carriers and other naval units have been dispatched to the Pacific and Caribbean coasts of Central America. In Honduras 5,000 American soldiers are to begin taking part in military exercises. Also in Honduras, a military training camp has opened where units of the armed opposition in Nicaragua and El Salvador's government troops are given training. It has also been mentioned that American advisers may be allowed to take part in fighting in El Salvador. In spite of a congressional ban, the administration intends to double the number of units fighting against Nicaragua. All this does not back up the impression given in the words "peaceful settlement," as stated.

PORTUGUESE CP LEADER ON VACATION; MEETS KADAR

LD271529 Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] In Budapest Janos Kadar has received Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, who is spending his vacation in Hungary. At the discussion both sides stressed the importance of the two parties' traditionally good relations and urged the expansion of cooperation.

PRESS MATERIAL ON KADAR'S VISIT TO USSR

NEPSZABADSAG Editorial

AU271125 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Jul 83 p 1

[Editorial: "A Milestone on Our Common Path"]

[Text] It is a certainty that the Hungarian party-government delegation has done a good job in the Soviet Union and that the talks conducted with top-level representatives of the Soviet party and state and the agreements and contracts that have been concluded with various Soviet organs will lead to tangible results. This is all the more true because a process of several decades and a continuation and further development of the relations existing in various areas of social life are involved.

Although the visit was of a relatively short duration -- only 5 days -- the area of the issues discussed was considerable. Understandably, as part of the talks, the heads and members of the delegations informed each other about the position of their parties and countries. By so doing, they demonstrated the principle that our successes are joint successes, while we ponder jointly over our problems in order to resolve them on the basis of mutuality and solidarity. In this sense, informing each other is a part of the internationalist practice that fosters the realization of common endeavors and identical objectives.

Both delegations were able to speak with sincere appreciation -- and they, indeed, did so -- of the work of the other side. The Hungarian delegation valued highly the efforts of the Soviet people, the CPSU, and the Soviet Government in implementing the resolutions of the 26th congress and the Central Committee's November 1982 and June 1983 sessions. It was gratifying to hear how much the Soviet leaders esteem the successful work done by the Hungarian working people to implement the resolutions of the 12th MSZMP Congress and the Central Committee's April 1983 session.

It was established in the course of the exchange of views that there is a complete identity of views between the MSZMP and the CPSU on all fundamental issues. Even thus far, fraternal cooperation has produced great results for our peoples and this will remain a most important prerequisite for the development of our socialist system in the future as well. It is important to stress this for several reasons. Only on the basis of mutual trust and the survey of an examination of results and possibilities is it possible to disclose the as yet unexploited reserves. And there is an abundance of those.

Special significance attaches to their recognition and disclosure today, when -- as is generally known -- imperialist circles intensify their attacks against the Soviet Union and the countries allied with it. One goal of their strategy is to undermine the socialist countries' unity and disturb their fruitful cooperation. Consequently, futher strengthening the socialist countries' unity and intensifying their cooperation constitutes one of the most important means for repulsing the imperialist attempts. Reviewing the international situation -- primarily the preservation of world peace, the curbing of the arms race, disarmament, and preventing the danger of a nuclear war -- was in the focal point of the talks. The Hungarian and Soviet delegations reiterated their firm intention to continue to contribute to the Warsaw Pact, to mutually guaranteeing their national sovereignty and security, and to the preservation of universal peace. They concluded that the aggravation of the international situation is a consequence of the policy of the United States and other NATO countries.

The military preparations of NATO fully verify the Prague joint declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact countries and the joint declaration adopted by the socialist countries' party and state leaders on 28 June 1983 in Moscow.

The delegations deemed the plan to deploy new U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe as particularly dangerous. They agreed also that, if this does happen, it would mean an additional great danger for the socialist countries and it would make the necessary counter measures unavoidable. "Our talks prove," said Janos Kadar in his 20 July toast, "that, in appraising the present situation, our positions coincide. We fully agree with the highly important initiatives of the CPSU and the Soviet Government aimed at consolidating international peace and security. We welcome the Soviet proposal on freezing nuclear weapons stockpiles and highly value the Soviet Union's unilateral assumption of the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons."

Hungarian-Soviet economic relations are of outstanding significance for us. The position of these relations was comprehensively analyzed at the talks and it was concluded that our economic relations have developed considerably in recent years. Our country transacted one-third of its foreign trade turnover with the Soviet Union last year. Expansion of production specialization and joint ventures play a great role in our economic development. This particularly advantageous form of cooperation has come about in such preferentially treated industrial sectors as the production of road vehicles, agrochemistry, bauxite and aluminum production, the production of nuclear power plant equipment, and other sectors requiring up-to-date technical and technological knowledge.

It is known that additional important economic agreements were concluded during the visit. Primarily with regard to certain areas of the aluminum industry, light industry, agriculture, and foodstuff production, it was also agreed that the two countries' representatives will work out long-term programs in the future. The economic agreements reflect the realization that there are still great reserves in cooperation between the two countries, the mobilization of which would be useful for both sides.

The aspiration to expand and broaden cooperation does not apply to various areas of economic life alone. The intention to develop relations between the two countries' state and social organs, working collectives, scientific-cultural institutes, and artistic representatives more vigorously was strongly stressed at the talks. For realizing this, a very important prerequisite is at hand. "Our parties and states are linked by long-standing, strong ties of internationalist solidarity," stressed Yuriy Andropov in his Kremlin toast. "There is every reason for us to say that relations between the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic are becoming increasingly substantive and multifaceted with each passing year. There is no area where we have not achieved results and where no new and even broader prospects present themselves for the development of our cooperation."

It is necessary to point to another important feature of the visit. In both countries, extremely great public interest accompanied the talks. The Soviet people greatly esteem the results attained in the development of the Hungarian People's Republic and pay particular attention to the further development of our relations. In reverse, the same applies to our public, which displays an extremely lively interest in the achievements of the Soviet people, who are working with such great verve on building advanced socialism.

Despite its fairly crowded program, the delegation found the means also for directly meeting with Soviet working people. These meetings testified to the fact that the leaders of the two peoples can increasingly rely on the active participation of the Soviet people in the implementation of agreements and the accomplishment of joint tasks.

The joint communique issued on the visit notes: "The Hungarian and Soviet sides are fully satisfied with the results of the talks. The talks were conducted in a spirit of complete understanding and reaffirmed the unity of the views of the two countries' parties and governments and the identity of their objectives. The agreements will foster a strengthening of the relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union in complete harmony with the fundamental interests of the Hungarian and Soviet people."

The two peoples' wholehearted participation in the implementation of the agreements will ensure that we will regard this visit as an additional milestone on our common path.

MAGYAR HIRLAP Views Visit

AU271400 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Jul 83 p 3

[Gabor Kurti article: "Unitedly"]

[Excerpts] The official friendly visit of the Hungarian party-government delegation led by Janos Kadar was more than another proof of the unabatedly developing friendship between the two countries, the two fraternal parties, and the two peoples. It demonstrated, at the same time, that the Hungarian and Soviet leaders perceive equally well the voice of the times, that they speak the same language to such an extent that they were able to outline without any particular difficulty, jointly and in agreement, the most important tasks of the coming period. In Janos Kadar's words: "I have known Yuriy Andropov for a long time.... Old acquaintances need few words to understand each other."

Which of the acknowledged necessities was the most important? It is not easy to establish a sequence, but it is obvious, nevertheless, that the course of the internal development of the socialist countries -- including our country and the Soviet Union -- and the international military-political and world economic situation, which has become more unfavorable, urge the countries of the socialist community to strengthen their unity and collaboration -- we might say, make it inevitable for them to do so. This fact was referred to by Yuriy Andropov in his 20 July toast when he deemed it an objective need for us "to further intensify the efficiency of cooperation between our countries and to elevate them onto a considerably higher, I would say, qualitatively new level." And it is in this way that one can interpret the part of the joint communique devoted to interparty relations, which, noting that close cooperation between the MSZMP and the CPSU are characterized by mutual trust and an identity of views on the most important issues of the present era, expressly stressed the significance of ideological cooperation.

The fact that both sides repeatedly underscored during the talks that there is a complete identity of views on all fundamental issues between the two parties and two governments is a resounding response to certain Western allegations. Imperialist propaganda, which, employing the old orchestration, is again intensifying its anti-Soviet campaign and, at the same time, is trying to drive a wedge between members of the socialist community, had to suffer a disappointment once more. In his 20 July toast Janos Kadar, reviewing the junctures of the historical path covered by the Soviet Union and recalling the sacrifices assumed by the Soviet people in the service of social progress and the world revolutionary process, noted with justification: No anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda of any kind can alter the historical facts.

It will not do any harm if those whom it concerns will remember the statement made more than once by the first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee that the people's power is firm, the party is the recognized leading force of society in the Hungarian People's Republic." Or, as he put it on another occasion: "The positions of socialism are firm, unshakable in the Hungarian People's Republic: the party's leading role asserts itself in all areas of our social life."

Nothing proves more that this assessment of the situation is mutual than the following words of the CPSU Central Committee's general secretary: "In your person, we greet our fellow combatants, our allies, and our like-minded friends, struggling for the common cause." And continuing to cite Yuriy Andropov: "It fills us with profound satisfaction that the exchange of views has confirmed the identical nature of our views and unity of our intentions."

At his news conference Janos Kadar emphasized a manner of outlook and work that is extremely important in the current phase of the socialist countries' development. As he said, "in the construction of socialism, it is necessary to take into consideration experiences and laws of universal validity, the historical path covered by individual peoples and every country's national characteristics. At the same time -- as Yuriy Andropov also has said, the experiences of the socialist countries are enriching the common treasurehouse of our movement."

Preserving peace and halting the escalation of international tension constitute an indispensable external prerequisite for this constructive work. Another essential endeavor of the socialist countries is to curb the arms race, which would release additional resources for the activity of shaping society. It was also possible to conclude at the talks the fact that, in assessing the international situation, the positions of the two sides coincide.

We support the Soviet Union's highly significant peace proposals and we agree that the socialist countries gathered in the Warsaw Pact cannot permit the equilibrium that has historically developed militarily be upset. As Janos Kadar stressed at his news conference: A solution must be found at the Geneva talks that guarantees equal security of the two sides at a lower level of armament. The fact that this -- that is, a rational and mutually beneficial compromise in Geneva -- is still possible was noted also by Yuriy Andropov in the toast he made at the Kremlin. As for the international atmosphere, it is a favorable sign, in any case, that following protracted diplomatic skirmishes the great powers succeeded in reaching agreement in Madrid last week. If sober reason, the force of the realities, has triumphed at the Europe meeting in the end, why should agreement not be possible in Geneva as well?

We are living at a time when, amid the external and internal conditions, which have become more difficult, the friendship of the Soviet Union is very important for us. That is why the following conclusions of the joint communique issued on the visit are of particular significance: "The Hungarian and Soviet sides are completely satisfied with the results of the talks. The talks took place in a spirit of complete agreement and reaffirmed the unity of the views and identity of the objectives of the parties and governments of the two countries."

HAVASI OUTLINES ECONOMIC TASKS IN PRAVDA ARTICLE

For a Moscow PRAVDA 14 July article by Ferenc Havasi, MSZMP Politburo member, outlining Hungary's economic tasks and ties with socialist countries, see the 26 July Eastern Europe section of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages F 2-5.

WARSAW COMMENTS ON REAGAN PRESS CONFERENCE

Statement Termed 'Interference'

LD271645 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] U.S. President Ronald Reagan has made another attack against the interests of our country in a statement that bears clear marks of glaring and arbitrary interference into Poland's internal affairs. This is more astounding as the occasion for these remarks is the eighth anniversary of the signing of the final document of the Helsinki CSCE.

In his statement Reagan passes in total silence over the fact of the final ending of martial law in our country and the restoration of the normal political situation. He says that the Polish authorities actions not openly threaten achievements in the sphere of strengthening security and cooperation in Europe, but also have a negative influence on the public. The message to mark the anniversary of the Helsinki conference was thought up in Washington as one more attempt to fuel social and political tensions in Poland and other socialist countries.

C. American Policies Outlined

LD271227 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Grzegorz Dziemidowicz commentary]

[Text] The press conference given by U.S. President Reagan was almost entirely devoted to Washington's policies vis-a-vis Central America, and aimed at justifying its aggressive steps, official statements, and the unfriendly gestures of the administration directed against Nicaragua, Cuba and the leftist guerrillas in El Salvador. These undertakings are meeting serious resistance in Congress and raising anxieties among the American public. The President was clearly trying to dissipate these anxieties. We are not planning a war; we are looking for ways to begin a new era of peace and social justice; Central America will not become for us another Vietnam; we support democracy, reforms, and man's freedom. These are some quotes from his press conference.

At the same time, however, Reagan refused to state resolutely that in the case of an open conflict he will not send interventionary forces. Presidents should never use the word never. He termed any intervention by the United States to be a hypothetical situation. He said he would not reply to hypothetical questions. At the same time a noisy setting is provided for joint planned, large-scale American-Honduran exercises. If not a blockade, then at least a quarantine against Nicaragua is openly spoken of. The President's thesis on social justice in El Salvador or Honduras, or on man's freedom there is undocumented.

The first reactions to Reagan's statements in the United States were far from rapturous. The sharpest reactions came from Democratic leaders. Former Vice President Walter Mondale stated that the dangerous tendency for military over-reaction has again been presented. The President has been absolutely unable to dissipate the Americans' fears regarding our policies. Senator Edward Kennedy said that the Reagan administration is conducting a policy of war instead of peace. I am calling on the President to end the secret war against Nicaragua.

POLITYKA EXAMINES RESULTS OF PAPAL VISIT

AU270730 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 23 Jul 83 p 3

[Jan Szczepanski article: "The Visit"]

[Excerpts] Many of the phenomena and processes originated by John Paul II's pilgrimage to Poland in 1983 will only appear after several months, therefore any analysis of the results of this visit made today (10 July) can only be simplified and superficial. Nevertheless let us try. We will start by trying to answer the questions: In what role did the pope come to Poland and what were the aims of this visit as seen by the Vatican, the Church in Poland, society, the government, and various groups and forces in the world?

He came above all as a "shepherd," as the pope of the universal Church visiting the Church in Poland, as the bishop of Rome fulfilling his religious mission. He came as a pilgrim -- of course, a pilgrim of very high rank -- in order to take part in the 600th anniversary celebrations of Jasna Gora. He also came as a Polish cardinal who has passed through all ranks of the hierarchy and has been linked with the Polish Church for good. He was met at airports with a guard of honor and all the ceremony with which one greets heads of state, and one also cannot forget that John Paul II was the first head of a Western European state to visit Poland since the introduction of martial law. He also came as an eminent politician, fulfilling the political interests of the Church and at the same time playing an important role in international political relations. He was greeted by Polish Catholics as the spiritual leader of the masses of believers and as a cultural creator: theaters staged his plays and periodicals carried his articles. This atmosphere surrounding a writer, philosopher, theologian, and person of great personal leadership played an enormous role during the visit and defined the attitudes of wide circles of intellectuals. It also drew heavy attention to his speeches from society. No free-thinking person would dare doubt any thesis concerning the Church and the pope. Nothing is left of the interwar anticlericalism of the intelligentsia in the Poland of 1983.

But looking at the Western press and the way it reported on the pope's visit, it was easy to notice that the West was particularly interested in one aspect of this visit. The pope was regarded as a political emissary of the West who had come to Poland on an anticommunist, antigovernment, and antisystem mission and reports concentrated on how he was performing this mission. From the very first day, almost the only thing that was extracted from his speeches, sermons, meetings, and talks was something that could be interpreted as the performance of an anticommunist mission. It is difficult to expect non-Catholic journalists or Western Catholics indifferent to religion to be interested in the pope's religious mission in order to understand what Polish Catholicism means within the Church's global religious mission. The Catholics of the West cannot understand the importance of the Church since they do not live in conditions of lasting confrontation with the atheist philosophical and social doctrine of Marxism. A battle for ideas only interests them in the political sense. They saw the pope's visit, above all, within the context of a simplified East-West conflict, and they see the processes of collective life in Poland as a counterposition of communist and anticommunist forces, in which Solidarity is the embodiment of all the anticommunist forces. Therefore they have devoted the greatest amount of effort to extracting every sign of Polish anticommunism from this visit. Because Poland has been playing the role of disrupter of the socialist bloc in the eyes of the West since 1945 and because recent years have clearly shown that the West is interested in Poland, above all, from one angle -- namely, how much trouble Poland can cause the Soviet Union regardless of the price Poland itself would have to pay for this -- the pope's visit has been viewed mainly from this angle in the West. Therefore all the other aims of the visit have been viewed only as matters of secondary importance, and the journalists viewed the religious mission merely as fascinating exotica.

For Poland, however, the religious and cultural aspects of the visit were exceptionally important because of the role played by religion in everyday life. Of course, the Polish Government was also interested in the political aspects of the visit, but it was interested from the point of view of the entirety of domestic problems, the domestic crisis, and international relations.

The visit took place on two basic "levels." I would call the first level a "mass" one and a public one, consisting of meetings with the crowds, masses and sermons in which millions took part, and transmissions of sermons by radio and television -- in other words the level of the visit visible to the public. The second level, equally important and perhaps more so, covers everything that the pope said during "closed" meetings with bishops, politicians, lay activists, and so on. The results of this second "level" will "materialize" slowly and gradually, perhaps only after months and years. Finally, there is the problem of the influence of both these levels on each other, the so-called psychological and sociological aspects of their mutual interaction. The effects of this second level will appear in the decisions of the political authorities in Poland, in the resolutions of the Sejm and the State Council, in the activity of the Episcopate, in the tone of sermons, in the tone of articles and in the reactions to these articles, and in radio and television commentaries. These are aspects of the visit that were almost nonexistent for "sensation seekers."

Everyone's interest in the visit concerns both aspects. For everyone, from the government down to the citizens, pinned certain hopes on the visit. Everyone was also aware that the visit would exert influence on the course of events in religious, social, and political life, and that results would emerge from this visit applying to everyone regardless of whether a person was expecting religious satisfaction or was hoping for political and social changes. The number of roles in which the pope appeared in Poland corresponded with the number of expectations attached to his visit and illustrated by means of the tour programs and plans of talks and meetings prepared for him.

Let us take a look at the political aspect of the visit, connected with the tense expectations in the West that the pope would perform a miracle and overthrow the authorities in Poland. The pope's sermons were not devoid of words having many meanings and subject to various interpretations. But first I would like to recall two facts.

The Vatican is not Poland and the pope must consider the fate of churches in other socialist countries, the possibilities of visiting those countries, and the need to adapt the Church to the socialist system, just as in the 18th and 19th centuries the Church was adapted to often-cursed liberalism. So the pope stressed that he identifies the Church neither with Solidarity nor with the opposition. One can thus forecast that the visit will encourage the trend toward clearly defined cooperation between the Church and the government. For the course of events and also deliberate aims have made the Church a valid active political force in the eighties. Many Western journalists explained the pope's conduct toward Walesa as a desire to eliminate Solidarity in the competition to achieve dominion over souls in Poland. Nonsense. Neither Walesa nor Solidarity could ever be competitors of the powerful Church that has been an important institution in the life of the nation for hundreds of years and one deeply embedded in the education and upbringing of people and in the life and culture of the nation. Solidarity was one of many social movements that have "attached" themselves to the Church over the ages, and bishops have known for centuries how to act in such situations. There was nothing accidental about the meeting with Walesa and the article in OSSERVATORE ROMANO. The Church quite simply cannot tarnish its policy toward the socialist countries because of political gestures toward ambiguous persons and movements.

Of all the forces involved in the political process in Poland in 1980-83, the Church reaped the greatest advantages, and now it must consolidate its achievements. Its political strength stems neither from the activity of Catholic circles in the Sejm, nor from the support of the opposition, nor from nationalistic sermons. The Church's position has been built up through the policy of such bishops as Primate Wyszynski and others like him who looked decades into the future and always tested current conditions from the point of view of the long-term and almost "everlasting" interests of the Church, its material strength, and, above all, the state of awareness of its followers. One can say that the Church reaped maximam advantage in 1980-81, but the latest visit has taken place in 1983 and has laid the foundations for the coming years. Therefore, there has not been much time during the visit to reminisce about the past. The Church's kingdom is in quite a different world then the kingdom of the opposition in Poland.

What has the visit meant to the party and to both the allied parties, to Catholic political groups, and to the institutions of authority? The visit has made all of them face sharp questions: How should long-term policy toward the Church be shaped, what should be their relationship be toward the Church in the world of ideology, what should their attitudes be toward the religious persons in their ranks, and, above all, what should their attitude be toward the participation of Catholics in running the country? After the pope's first visit in 1979, the conviction was prevalent that the masses of Catholics would return to normal work after meeting the pope and that nothing important for the party would emerge from the visit. A year later, however, it turned out that those who had said that a qualitative change would occur in Poland because of the visit were right. Right now the party is aware of the long-term effects of the pope's visit and of the attractive display of the Church's strength. But the question being raised in 1983 is completely different from the one that was asked in 1979. The 1979 visit made people aware of this strength, and the visit itself confirmed this strength as a force that was already active. Yet all those who think that this strength constitutes support for the opposition are wrong. The opposition's activity is only one sphere of matters that the Episcopate must take into consideration while managing this strength. The Church's strength serves its own interests.

As far as international relations are concerned, this visit has had a completely different influence than the 1979 visit. The 1979 visit broke the "isolation" that the party and government were forming around Poland, not allowing any direct influence by various forces on citizens. The latest visit has broken the "isolation" formed around Poland by Western governments since the introduction of martial law. The future will show the results of this break of isolation in Poland's relations with foreign countries. For no one knows what Cardinal Krol told the President of the United States and what other Church dignitaries told the heads of their respective governments, and what will be the effect of their words. No doubt these words have some importance for world diplomacy, although we know that what is important is not that someone said something, but the meaning of what he said for the implementation of political and economic interests. Despite the efforts of the mass media in the West to make Poland appear as a country behind barbed wire, the visit has commenced a process that possesses its own logic and necessity, which not even the cleverest and most emotional words can change. For the government kept its word about the visit, did not change its mind, and during the Belweder talk a seed was sown which sprouted a talk in the Wawel Castle. The sprout did not bend under the psychological pressure of the mass propaganda, just as it did not bend under the pressure of sanctions in another sphere. If the visit showed the strength of the Church, it also showed the consistency of the government.

Thus, an analysis of the political effects of the pope's visit on the policy of Western states toward Poland must be made on several planes at which political processes occur: the plane of the real interests of nations, the plane of the needs (including electoral ones) of various parties in power, the plane of rules essential for the political contest that is currently being waged, and the plane of real possibilities for action. If we had the knowledge to accurately perceive the sense of the activities being undertaken on all these planes, we would be able to say what out of the great muddle of words being spoken about the pope's visit is an expression of real interests and needs, what is petty sensation-seeking, and what is quite simply stupidity and blindness.

Most important for us, however, are those effects that will gradually emerge in all spheres of life in Poland, starting with the government and the bishops and spreading to individual families. Then we will see what these millions have gained from their contact with the pope.

FOREIGN TRADE DELEGATION VISITS AUSTRALIA

LD272210 Warsaw PAP in English 2046 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] Warsaw 27 July -- A session of the Polish-Australian Economic Commission was held in the capital of Australia, Canberra, Poland's Ministry of Foreign Trade reported today.

Polish participants were led by Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Antoni Kzras, while the Australian leader at the talks was Deputy Minister of Trade P. H. Barrat.

The delegates from Poland were received by Australia's deputy prime minister, Minister of Trade Lionel E. Bowen.

Apart from that, talks were held with the boards of such trade-industrial organizations as the Wool Producers' Association and Australian Wheat Council and also with the managers of a number of Australian banks, state authorities and representatives of the Polish-Australian Trade Chamber.

During the talks, both sides emphasized their interest in further development of economic cooperation and trade, among other things, considering Poland's traditional purchases from Australia such as wool and leather. The Australian side declared their readiness to extend the necessary facilitation [as received] and start appropriate measures to increase Polish exports to Australia. A joint protocol was signed.

JARUZELSKI, JABLONSKI, MEET WITH DIPLOMATS

LD231100 Warsaw PAP in English 0722 GMT 23 Jul 83

[Text] Warsaw 22 July -- On the occasion of Poland's national holiday -- the 39th anniversary of People's Poland -- President of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski and Premier General Wojciech Jaruzelski met with members of the diplomatic corps accredited in Poland at a reception in the Wilanow Palace here today. At present Poland maintains diplomatic relations with 127 countries throughout the world.

Present at the meeting were members of the PUWP CC Political Bureau and Secretariat, representatives of the United Peasant Party and Democratic Party, the Sejm Presidium, the Council of State, the Government Presidium and social organizations.

Speaking on behalf of the diplomatic corps, its dean, Bulgaria's ambassador to Poland Ivan Nedev, stressed that socialist Poland enjoys prestige as member of the international community due to her activeness and initiatives on issues of vital importance for the nations of the world. Contributing to their solving Poland has always attached primary importance to the struggle for peace and detente in international relations, he said.

Poland is strong enough to overcome her present problems. We are witnessing gradual development of this process, the construction of its legal, economic and social foundations. We do not doubt that through persistent work and realism the Polish nation will solve the problems facing it, Ivan Nedev said.

Ivan Nedev said that it is a humanitarian duty of the peace forces and governments to make all efforts possible to improve international political climate and pass from confrontation to detente and cooperation in international relations, to prevent the world from a nuclear catastrophe.

On behalf of the diplomatic corps accredited in Warsaw Ivan Nedev wished Poland a favorable development and happiness and well-being to the Polish nation.

Henryk Jablonski on his part said that Poland which dearly paid for her liberation, has the right and duty to remind everybody that any attempts to undermine the political-territorial order that took shape in Europe following the defeat of the Nazi fascism endangers European peace and world security.

We want sovereign and socialist Poland, with wise and proven alliances, to occupy due place in the family of European nations and the world. We strive for this activity always serve the interests of the Polish nation and the cause of detente and international agreement, Henry Jablonski said.

Despite obstacles posed to us, various kinds of restrictions and discrimination and attempts at distorting the picture of our reality, we are solving and shall solve our internal problems. We consolidate our state, develop socialist democracy, introduce a profound economic reform. Social moods calm down. We consistently realize the idea of national agreement. In this situation Poland's supreme authorities, in answer to the appeal of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth, supported by political parties, made a decision of particular weight for the further normalization of life in our country and lifted martial law.

Henryk Jablonski said that the these decisions along with the Amnesty Law "prove irrevocably that we want to solve Polish internal problems in the spirit of reconciliation and national agreement".

He expressed deep conviction that the heads of diplomatic missions in Poland will present these decisions to their governments with due understanding of their significance.

He said the development of the situation in Poland is followed with great but not always kind interest almost all over the world. He stressed the support and assistance from Poland's socialist friends, especially the USSR.

"We are glad to see understanding and sympathy of other nations, including many African, Asian and Latin American states," H. Jablonski remarked.

"John Paul II's recent pilgrimage to the motherland showed our common anxiety for international peace and internal quiet.

"The prevention of the growing threat of war is our common and chief duty," he went on. The policy of confrontation and the arms race will not solve the problem of peace and complex questions of the contemporary world. Patient dialogue based on mutual esteem and respect for the interests of every partner remains nowadays the only effective way. This will be our common and important contribution to the construction of the edifice of peace, security and cooperation in Europe and the world, said H. Jablonski.

The final part of the meeting featured direct talks of members of the supreme state authorities with representatives of the diplomatic corps.

THREE SOLIDARITY LEADERS REQUEST AMNESTY

LD271638 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] In connection with lifting martial law and amnesty, the inter-regional defense commission of NSZZ Solidarity has come out of hiding. On its behalf three leading activists -- Andrzej Mazur, Jerzy Nowak, and Ryszard Bogacz -- made a statement in which they say that their decision was made after careful consideration. Having only the practical choice between dialogue and another crisis, we have with full conviction chosen action toward dialogue, the statement says. The former Solidarity activists have been received by Minister of Justice Sylwester Zawadzki. At a meeting with journalists afterward, Minister Zawadzki said that the Amnesty Bill gives underground activists the chance for a return to normal life and for eradication of the errors of the past.

Mazur Reads Statement

LD272226 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] At a meeting in Warsaw today between Minister of Justice Sylwester Zawadzki and activists of an illegal organization named the Interregional Committee for the Defense of NSZZ Solidarity a statement on behalf of the group was read by Andrzej Mazur.

[Begin Mazur recording] Statement of the Interregional Committee for the Defense of NSZZ Solidarity, in connection with lifting of martial law:

On 23 July 1983 the interregional committee adopted a decision on disbanding; at the same time it authorized the three undersigned members of the working group to come out of hiding. The decision was made after thorough consideration over past weeks and was the subject of consultations in regions and work enterprises. Despite the fact that results were not unanimous and a number of reservations and doubts were voiced, nevertheless, on the basis of the prevailing views, the decision to disband and come out of hiding was made within the bounds of the Amnesty Bill.

Today the most important [words indistinct] to the dialogue between the authorities and the community, and it seems to be the only real chance for removing the results of social and economic crisis. Dialogue, as a form of negotiation of social claims, and compromise, as such, cannot be conducted by people who remain in hiding and who confine themselves to making one-sided statements. Thus, having essentially only a choice between dialogue and actions towards another crisis, with full conviction we have chosen action towards dialogue. The dialogue and social accord must be of broad scope and must include a number of milieus, first of all workers, who make up the overwhelming majority of the workforce in industrial enterprises. The decision meets halfway the interests of the authorities, who now seek to consolidate political stability.

In making the decision to disband the committee, we do not renounce any open action for dialogue and national accord in the spirit of the August accords. We express the hope that after we come out of hiding the authorities will take steps to begin the dialogue.

[Signed] Ryszard Bogacz, Andrzej Mazur, Jerzy Nowak

WROCLAW REPORTS 44 FREED FROM ISOLATION CENTERS

LD280808 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] During the first 2 days that the amnesty has been in force 44 persons have left isolation centers in the Wroclaw area. Most of these persons were those sentenced -- 17 persons -- and those under temporary arrest -- 9 persons -- for acts of a political nature. Most of those released had been staying in isolation in Wroclaw and Strzelin. In (?Chorula) on the other hand, a dozen or so perpetrators of accidental crimes who had been sentenced primarily to short terms in prison for causing road accidents, but not under the influence of alcohol, were freed.

PROSECUTORS' TASKS RESULTING FROM AMNESTY NOTED

AU271236 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU 25 Jul 83 p 2

[PAP report: "The Tasks of Prosecutors After the Lifting of Martial Law"]

[Text] On 23 July in Warsaw there was a conference of voivodship prosecutors and of prosecutors from military districts and from the armed services devoted to discussing the tasks facing bodies of the Prosecutor General's Office of the PPR contained in the laws passed by the Sejm concerning special legal regulations during the socioeconomic crisis and concerning the amnesty.

The need to introduce regulations to set in order the country's socioeconomic life directly after the lifting of martial law was stressed. The adopted legal solutions will give the economy much-needed protection for the immediate future which will determine the country's emergence from the crisis. These solutions will also encourage a further strengthening of legal order and social discipline.

Discussing next the detailed legal solutions contained in the Amnesty Law, it was said that this law makes it possible for the majority of those who committed crimes for political motives and all of those who carried out illegal activity against their own state while in hiding or abroad, to return to normal life and work. Now it is up to these people themselves to make the most of the chance that has been given them.

Some of the most important tasks facing prosecutors during the present situation will be: checking to see if the law on special legal regulations is correctly implemented and also selecting cases to which the Amnesty Law is applicable. This latter task concerns criminal proceedings which the prosecutors have the power to waive. At the same time a review will be made of the cases that can be waived by the appropriate courts on the recommendation of the prosecutors. It will also be necessary to organize the reception of persons taking advantage of the amnesty and coming out of hiding, and also to guarantee the participation of prosecutors in court sessions at which it is decided to apply the Amnesty Law. Also foreseen is the establishment of a special team to make sure that the amnesty is applied properly.

Summing up the conference, Franciszek Rusek, prosecutor general of the PPR, stressed that the dangers which could disturb the country's peaceful development have not yet disappeared. The lifting of martial law cannot mean a lull in the battle against legal infringements and against social pathology. A lot of effort will still be necessary to combat dangerous criminal activity. Prosecuting bodies will aim to strengthen law and order in all these activities. For law and order, F. Rusek noted, is the most sensitive barometer of the country's social climate. It influences the level of society's discipline, shapes confidence in the law and respect for the state authorities, and determines the authorities credibility.

NEW LAW 'FREEZES' BENEFITS, ALLOWANCES

LD272248 Warsaw PAP in English 2049 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] Warsaw 27 July -- The law on the special legal regulation in the period of overcoming the socio-economic crisis, recently adopted by the Sejm, suspends rights for granting new allowances and other branch benefits in kind and those paid in the form of a money equivalent to the basic pay. The rights for new allowances are suspended temporarily until the end of 1985.

The allowances and benefits, to which people are now entitled, are paid on the hitherto level. There is an exception to the rule of "freezing" these benefits -- meals and food, free of charge or partially paid, given to employees because of the character or conditions of their work.

Therefore, no professional group is deprived of its privileges provided for by law, but neither are the new ones introduced that could start an inflationary avalanche of further demands.

AGENDA FOR SEJM SESSION SCHEDULED 28 JUL

LD272119 Warsaw PAP in English 2010 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] Warsaw 27 July -- The Sejm (Polish Parliament) will convene at the next 40th plenary meeting here tomorrow. The meeting will also close the present session of the Polish parliament.

The Sejm debates will concentrate chiefly on the government drafts of the four tax laws: a draft law on amending the law on the income tax, amending the law on the turnover tax and the law on the inheritance and the donation duty and the law on the equalizing tax. 13 Sejm deputies were entered for the discussion on these questions. Finance Minister Stanislaw Nieckarz is expected to deliver a speech.

The changes in the tax system, which are important for the ventures aimed to combat inflation, aroused great interest in Poland, all the more so as the government said it would solve this question when the 1983-85 three-year plan was being adopted.

The setting up of the Office of the Minister of Administration and Spatial Economy and the establishment of the central Office for the Protection of Natural Environment and Water Economy are also expected.

The government bill on the POLISH PRESS AGENCY and the bill amending some regulations of the Penal Code and the law on the control of publications and entertainments will be submitted to the Sejm.

RAKOWSKI ON IMPLICATIONS OF NINTH PARTY CONGRESS

AU270745 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 23 Jul 83 pp 1, 5

[Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski article: "The Congress of Struggle and Accord"]

[Text] On 20 July 1981 the Ninth PZPR Congress ended with the singing of the "Internationale." On 14 July about 2,000 congress delegates, who had been elected in democratic elections, gathered in the Congress Hall of the Palace of Science and Culture. For 7 days representatives of the entire party continued to exchange views on the country's situation and to discuss the best possible ways of overcoming the growing economic and political crisis.

This discussion produced the "Program for Developing Socialist Democracy and for Strengthening the PZPR'S Leading Role in Socialist Construction and in the Socioeconomic Stabilization of the Country," which the congress adopted. The election of the Central Committee first secretary and members took much time. The delegates submitted four candidates as first secretaries, but only two actually ran in the election. Stanislaw Kania received the most votes. The 200-strong Central Committee included 67 workers and 28 peasants as well as 28 members of the previous Central Committee elected by the eighth party congress. This meant that the party elected truly new authorities.

The course of the congress and its atmosphere were accurately reproduced by the verbatim report on its debates, issued by the Book-and-Knowledge publishing agency last spring. This report, which numbers 1,166 pages, conceals nothing. It is a document that recalls the mood of those unforgettable days and faithfully reflects the state of mind of party members at that time. Aside from main debates, debates were also held in problem commissions. Views and proposals proclaimed in the Sejm were frequently commented on in the wings of the congress, in canteens, and in living quarters. The discussions were passionate, objective, and partisan.

The congress debates were open and attracted the attention of the entire party and millions and millions of nonparty citizens. They public was avid for almost every word spoken at the congress, commented on the discernible differences in the speeches of the individual delegates, and took a passionate interest in personalities. The world press commented on every day of the congress in different ways. It is no exaggeration to say that in those days Warsaw attracted the attention of the entire country and of most of the world. We participants in the congress greatly felt that we were being watched by all our people, who expected us to produce sober evaluations of the situation and a dynamic program. We have fulfilled their expectations.

I am recalling the mood of those days because the many dramatic events that took place in subsequent months and years might submerge in oblivion those feelings, wishes, and expectations of which we were full in those days. Our wishes were unusual and extraordinary. The ideological achievements of the ninth congress are represented not only by its resolutions, but also by the aforementioned feelings, wishes, and expectations. That is why they are unforgettable!

One can write different things about the extraordinary party congress today -- on its second anniversary. One can cite the most important passages of its resolution and compare them to life. One can also attempt to reproduce whatever took place in the country and in the party before and after that congress. I think that both approaches should be tried because it is impossible to correctly see the role of the congress in this history of our party if we dissociate it from the political situation in which it took place and if we decide that only that which is in front of us is important. There is nothing we should be ashamed of in the past that preceded the congress.

The development of the political situation in the party and the country between the signing of the Szczecin and Gdansk accords and the first day of the congress produced much experience in the party. This made it possible to adopt the program that invigorated our activities in every sphere of socioeconomic life.

As a party we were not ideologically and politically able to resist the events that occurred in the late summer of 1980. It is true that the accords signed by K. Barcikowski and M. Jagielski were accepted, but this decision was dictated by the wish to extinguish the conflict between the party and the workers class rather than by a profound understanding of the reasons that had caused this conflict. The party's ideological life in the seventies, especially in the second half of the seventies, did not encourage the development of the conditions under which it would be possible to cope with the great socioeconomic contradictions that surfaced so drastically in August 1980.

In those years the discussions in the party were formal in character and were full of embellishments and slogan-like phrases. We continued to mechanically repeat the various formulas and evaluations of social phenomena that were cooked up by the party leadership at that time. The thesis that Poland entered the construction of a developed social society -- this thesis was the watchword of the day -- almost automatically banned any attempt to publicly raise the problems that gave rise to justified concern on the part of many party members. It is enough to recall how before the eighth party congress party organizations engaged in discussions that were full of criticism of the policy followed by the party and government leadership and that produced many valuable reports on the moods of the party grassroots. All these reports and signals were ignored, and precisely this fact was one of the main reasons for the unusually sharp and even ferocious criticism leveled at the party leadership at that time and also when its main body was already deprived of power.

It is a fact that the present criticism voiced by party members against the decision of the Sejm Commission for Constitutional Responsibility to absolve E. Gierek, E. Babiuch, J. Syzdlak, and T. Pyka from constitutional responsibility has the same source. The party base, which was attacked with unabated fury by the adversary in the last months of 1980 and all throughout 1981 and which was forced to defend not just various individual elements of party policy but the entire party from these bitter and often humiliating experiences, learned the lesson that has been responsible to a great extent for the present development of the party's inner life. The essence of this lesson is that every party body -- from the Central Committee through the Executive Committee of the primary party organization -- must always be controlled by party members and that the party leadership must be subjected to special control. This is natural because the party leadership makes decisions that, in line with the party statute, must not only be respected but also defended and implemented by party members. To state it clearly: Precisely this attitude of the party grassroots toward all party bodies is and must remain a constant practice of our party. If a member of any party body whatsoever feels restrained by such an attitude then he must take the appropriate action.

But let us return to the months that preceded the ninth party congress. At that time the party members' moral-political condition was determined by several very important facts, none of which was trivial.

What were these facts? First, the party accounted publicly -- before all our people and the world -- for its recent past and made every effort to fully reveal the sources of its failures. This self-trial was often most drastic. I have in mind not only the surrender of party cards but also the frequent demogogic speeches made at party meetings. There is no reason to conceal the negative manifestations that came to light at that stage of the party's self-trial.

Second, the party as a whole, as well as its bodies, focused its efforts on developing a positive attitude toward Solidarity. Even if the party included the comrades who from the very beginning saw in Solidarity highly disturbing features that were unfavorable for the further development of socialism in Poland, the party as a whole, its leadership, and the government made every effort to find points of contact with Solidarity. At that time we were strongly resolved to base social relations on the principles of total partnership. Although from the very beginning of Solidarity and especially in 1981 the party and government leadership publicly warned Solidarity leaders against the dangerous effects of their speeches and actions, which were full of hostility to socialism, to the party, and to the state alliances with our neighbors, at that time these activities of Solidarity were regarded as a secondary stream. The view promoted by some Solidarity ideologues that the party has never come to terms with the existence of Solidarity and has only waited for a suitable moment to strangle it is a lie calculated to win over the naive people or to falsify history.

The PZPR's position on Solidarity in the period when the attacks against it by the extremists were greatly increasing is best attested to by this passage from the ninth congress resolution: "Independent and self-governing trade unions are an important element of the functioning of socialist democracy. The party declares its goodwill and partnerlike attitude toward the entire trade union movement. At the same time the party takes the view that all the streams of this movement will be treated equally on the condition that they will operate in line with the Constitution of the PPR and the trade unions statute and, in the future, in line with the trade union law."

Third, during the discussions, which were mostly critical and postulative in character, the outlines of the party's future program came into being. The final shape of this program was embodied in the ninth congress resolution. Today it is easy to write "the outlines of the future program," but at that time those outlines were represented by large masses of proposals and suggestions, which included those that illustrated the party's ideological confusion -- a natural state in that situation. At party meetings party members proclaimed the views that often had nothing in common with our ideology and policy. In June 1981 I participated in the conference of the PZPR city organization in Bydgoszcz and in the voivodship party organization in Legnica. At both meetings views could be heard that could not have been left unanswered. (Footnote 1: M.F. Rakowski's "Partnership," pp 123-146 and 159-179).

If one might think it inexpedient to recall now the negative phenomena that came to the surface in the health-giving and positive intellectual movement that spread throughout the party at that time, let me have my own view about this. Nothing should be forgotten of that stormy discussion, which was going on in the party at that time and which was often so dramatic. Our experience should retain favorable and unfavorable events because both should become the most potent barrier against the recurrence of erroneous concepts and practices. Not the proclivity to preach, but my generation's rich experience prompts such a conclusion.

Fourth, the period beginning with the spring of 1981, during which congress delegates were elected, also determined the moral-political condition of party members. The elections took place in the conditions described above. The elections were in no case formal. Every candidate was carefully "screened," and particularly severe criteria were used in the case of the candidates from the central echelons. Many of them lost the election and some of them suffered from justifiable traumas and isolated themselves in their bitterness. Others were able to overcome their temporary breakdowns and still continue to be among the party's valuable aktivs.

At that time tremendous cadre changes took place in the party bodies at all levels and in the party apparatus. Party aktivs received injections of new blood: new faces and new people coming most often straight from their workshops. I think that in our present permanent dialogue with our people we mention only too rarely those enormous cadre changes in the party in the past few years and the social effects of these changes. We must bear in mind that large segments of our society continue to view the party apparatus in a rigid manner. Quite large numbers of our citizens assume in advance that an "aparatchik" has to be a conservative and anonymous party clerk whose activity is limited to moving people around, to issuing instructions, and so on. Some people often regard the party apparatus as a great mysterious force that stretches its powerful tentacles of influence all over the place, has its seat in the Central Committee building and in the buildings of the voivodship committees, and knows nothing about people's life, needs, and wishes.

These deeply rooted popular ideas, which are often thoughtlessly repeated, have nothing in common with reality. Our party apparatus, which has been seriously depleted compared with the seventies, is mostly composed of the comrades who belong to the young and middle generations of educated Poles. They include brilliant analysts who are able to evaluate the complicated social phenomena and are closely involved with the communities in which they work. Their daily life is taken up by innumerable meetings and passionate discussions. Their ideological ties with the party, its program, and its nearer and more distant aims are beyond question.

Discerning the proper dimensions of the ninth party congress requires the consideration of the aforementioned facts, climate, and atmosphere in which the preparations for that extremely important event in our party's history took place. It is impossible to view the ninth congress only as a collection of the documents adopted by the delegates.

The key problem that faced the party congress was the need to prove to all our people that the party, which was submerged at times in painful settlements with its past, which was subjected to the pressure of centrifugal forces, and which was even then attacked with blind fury by the extremists and international reaction, was not only able to regain its ideological identity, but also to devise a program that could be compatible with the people's expectations and with the objective laws of socioeconomic life. It was necessary to prove to Poland and the world that the PZPR would not retreat before its enormous difficulties and that it was able to work out a realistic concept of national accord based on the assumption that the workers protest made in August in 1981 was just. Let us add that this formulation found its way into the congress resolution.

It was also necessary to adopt a line of action that would be able to open the road along which the PZPR could regain and strengthen its leading role in the life of the people and the work character of the party could be more strongly stressed. The congress responded positively on the strength of its knowledge of the state of public consciousness and the domestic balance of forces at that time. As regards the evaluation of the chances of establishing partnerlike relations with Solidarity, for example, there is no doubt that most delegates all throughout the congress were absolutely convinced that this was possible. What is more, they were equally certain that precisely such a program, which was constructed on the strength of the realistic evaluation of Polish and world problems and on the Marxist-Leninist and modern approach to the contents and image of socialism and which was not devoid of the severe and courageous criticism of the party's faults, would be accepted by Solidarity and would overcome hesitations, mistrust, and so on.

It is enough to consult the aforementioned verbatim report on the congress to see that everyone thought so. Not hostility, but a firm resolution to engage in common efforts to strengthen that social and political policy which is known as socialist renewal was the guiding motive of the congress delegates.

The fact that a large group of Solidarity members was included in each of the bodies at the congress was not without significance for illustrating the views and attitudes of the congress delegates with regard to cooperation with Solidarity. I have recalled these facts to once again refute the claims of the falsifiers of history.

The expectations of most congress delegates and their certainty that cooperation with Solidarity would be a cinch after the congress were soon going to be completely dispelled. The course of the congress and the congress resolutions were violently attacked by the forces that had been offered partnership. The antisocialist forces, which had a great influence on the propaganda media of Solidarity, began to belittle the results of the congress. Their unprecedented attack was no accident and was not only a result of the hostility of many Solidarity activists and advisors toward the PZPR. They attacked the ninth congress because they noted the enormous interest of the public in its course and because they saw that the congress program might make it possible for the party to go over to the offensive. In such a situation it was necessary to do everything to weaken the impression created by the congress and to blunt its offensive edge. They wanted to do this by frequently using primitive and brutal language. Nor was this language and its form an accident. Solidarity propagandists consciously exploited the simplest and least complicated feelings and reactions of people. Despite these attacks the ninth congress resolutions -- as was to be expected -- began to function in the public consciousness and in party life. There is no doubt that the congress program was one of the sources of the determination with which the Central Committee resisted Solidarity extremists and their actions in the fall of 1981. Aware of their tasks, party members were right in regarding the congress program as an obvious act of overcoming the stalemate, of dealing with criticism, and of exploiting past experiences for the benefit of future actions to defend socialism. Even if at the end of that dramatic period in the history of People's Poland it was necessary to use extraordinary measures to halt counterrevolutionary activities, this fact does not invalidate the momentous significance of the ninth party congress for the PPR's further development.

Two extremely difficult and complicated years have passed since the ninth congress. They have been full of tension and difficulties which it was not easy to overcome. In the past 2 years the party has had to pass a difficult test and party members have had to show their ability to withstand various trials, some of which were quite unexpected. Not everyone has been able to endure these trials, which were especially rife in 1982, but those who have remained in the party can be particularly proud of themselves and can enter with satisfaction the new stage of the country's development on the 39th anniversary of the proclamation of the Manifesto of the Polish Committee for National Liberation.

The ninth congress program proclaimed the need to make crucial changes in all most important spheres of social and economic life and mapped out these changes. The detailed interpretation of these changes began in 1982 and still continues. Permanent reforming structures have been created to strengthen the foundation of socialism in our country and to produce conditions that would make it impossible for another crisis to take place. In most unfavorable situations we have been able to create conditions to strengthen precisely this line of policy and action. There is no doubt that the road along which we want to achieve these aims has been extended by the destructive activities of the extremists and by the need to use extraordinary measures, but we have not abandoned this road, which is a success of the party and its leadership, of the people's government, and of all nonparty citizens who are sincere patriots and who continue to march along this road together with us. In view of the experience we have gained since 13 December 1981 we are entitled to hope that in the coming months those who want to support our difficult but fruitful struggle to reach the "home stretch" will be far more numerous than today. The reasonable, realistic, bold, and up-to-date programmatic line of the ninth congress needs to be actively supported by work and reason. This line is advantageous for the people and the socialist Polish state.

ROMANIAN-MOZAMBICAN JOINT DECLARATION

AU261621 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Jul 83 pp 1, 2

[Joint Romanian-Mozambican Declaration" on President Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to Mozambique, signed in Maputo on 20 July]

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu paid an official friendship visit to the People's Republic of Mozambique at the invitation of Comrade Samora Moises Machel, chairman of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, between 18 and 20 July 1983.

During their visit, the distinguished guests were received everywhere with enthusiasm and particular warmth as an expression of the feelings of friendship and solidarity between the Romanian and Mozambican peoples and of the Mozambican people's respect for the great leader of socialist Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and for Comrade Elena Ceausescu.

During his visit, President Nicolae Ceausescu laid a wreath at the monument of Mozambican heroes, and toured important economic enterprises in Maputo.

The RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and the Frelimo chairman and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Comrade Samora Moises Machel conducted official talks, at which they briefed each other on their parties' and countries' concerns in connection with socioeconomic development, examined the current stage of bilateral relations and prospects for developing them, and exchanged views on the current international situation.

The official talks were attended, for Romania, by Comrade Elena Ceausescu, member of the Political Executive Committee [PEC] of the RCP Central Committee and first deputy prime minister, and Comrades Ghoerghe Oprea, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and first deputy prime minister; Stefan Andrei, candidate member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs; Vasile Pungan, member of the RCP Central Committee and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation; Silviu Curticeanu, member of the RCP Central Committee; Constantin Mitea, member of the RCP Central Committee and adviser to the party secretary general and president of the republic; Marin Constantin, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee and deputy minister of agriculture and food industry Marcel Dinu, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Nicolae Vulpasin, Romania's charge d'affaires ad interim to the People's Republic of Mozambique.

For Mozambique, the talks were attended by Comrades Joaquim Alberto Chissano, member of the Politburo of the Frelimo Central Committee, secretary of the Frelimo Central Committee, and minister of foreign affairs; Jacinto Soares Veloso, member of the Frelimo Central Committee Politburo and presidential minister for economy [title as published]; Rui Baltasar dos Santos Alves, minister of finance; Antonio Lima Rodrigues Branco, minister of industry and power; Joao dos Santos Ferreira, minister of agriculture [title as published]; Daniel Felipe Gabriel, deputy minister of foreign trade; Antonio Sumbana, member of Frelimo Central Committee and secretary of state for international cooperation; Francisco Carimo Martins Caravela, secretary of state for light industry and food; Francisco Caetano Maderia and Daniel Antonio, directors of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Murdali Mamadhusen, secretary to the president of the republic, and other officials.

The two presidents examined in detail the current stage of bilateral relations and expressed complete satisfaction with the results obtained in the areas of economic, technical, and scientific cooperation, which they view as an important contribution to expanding the fraternal relations between the Romanian and Mozambican peoples and to strengthening their joint struggle for peace and socialist development.

In this context, both sides highlighted the particular importance of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed at the highest level in April 1979 and of the other documents concluded between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of Mozambique. The two presidents emphasized their common desire to further consolidate the friendship and solidarity between their countries and peoples.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Samora Moises Machel expressed complete satisfaction with the successes attained in the cooperation between the RCP and Frelimo. On this occasion, too, they stressed the particular importance of continuously intensifying the relations between the two parties for consolidating the fraternal unity and friendship between the two countries and peoples.

The two party leaders reasserted their determination to expand ties, contacts, and cooperation between the RCP and Frelimo. For that purpose, mutual visits and exchanges of information and material on the ideological, political, socioeconomic, and cultural activities of the two parties will be initiated and promoted.

At the same time, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Samora Moises Machel reasserted the importance of direct contacts between representatives of the two countries' governments, parliaments, and youth, women, and trade union organizations. They highlighted the usefulness of periodic consultations between the two countries' foreign ministries, to be alternately held in Bucharest and Maputo.

The two party-state leaders briefed each other on their countries' and peoples' current concerns in the area of social and economic development. President Samora Moises Machel informed President Nicolae Ceausescu about the important decisions adopted by the Fourth Frelimo Congress in political, economic, social, and cultural areas, and stressed the importance of those decisions for consolidating and developing the socialist system in Mozambique and for defending peace and democracy. He also stressed the active participation of the Mozambican people in implementing the economic and social objectives of the congress and the significant successes recorded along this line, as well as in the struggle against armed gangs, smuggling, profiteering, and parasitism. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in his turn informed President Samora Moises Machel about the efforts made by the Romanian people, lead by the RCP, to implement the decisions of the 12th RCP Congress and of the National Conference of December 1982, and about the current stage of construction of the socialist society in Romania.

The Romanian and Mozambican presidents gave special attention during their talks to developing bilateral economic relations, which they view as a decisive factor for intensifying and deepening the cooperation between the two countries and peoples. Proceeding from the vast possibilities existing for expanding these relations, the two presidents are convinced that the agreements concluded during the visit will give a fresh and forceful impetus to expanding commercial exchanges and developing economic cooperation of a mutually advantageous basis, particularly in the areas of geology, extractive industry, coal, hydrocarbons, metallurgy, light industry, agriculture, construction materials, transport, and other sectors of mutual interest.

Discussing the results of the most recent session of the joint Romanian-Mozambican Governmental Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation, the two presidents decided that the next session should be held in Bucharest in the course of 1984 and should examine the implementation of the decisions adopted at a summit level, and work out new cooperation projects and programs of interest to both sides.

The two presidents also decided that economic bodies of the two countries should resolutely capitalize on the existing potential to increase and diversify the Romanian-Mozambican commercial exchanges in the form of mutual countertrade deliveries.

In the desire to consolidate the framework for promoting the Romanian-Mozambican relations, the sides signed during the visit a cooperation agreement between the RCP and Frelimo, and a protocol on developing technical-economic cooperation and commercial exchanges between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of Mozambique.

The Romanian and Mozambican presidents highlighted the importance of bilateral relations in the areas of culture, science, education, radio and television, press, sports, and health and their contribution to a better understanding between the Romanian and Mozambican peoples, and agreed to further intensify the cooperation between their competent institutions on the basis of the agreements and conventions existing in these areas.

The presidents of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of Mozambique examined the complex current international issues and expressed profound concern about the grave tension that has been created in interstate relations as a result of the policy of use and threat of force; of interference and intervention in the internal affairs of other states; conflicts and wars in various parts of the world; denial of the right to self-determination of nations that are still under colonial and racial domination; the escalation of the arms race; continuation of the policy of dividing the world into spheres of domination and influence; and of lack of significant progress in solving the problems of the developing countries and the prolonged world economic crisis.

In view of the above dangerous developments for international peace and security, which profoundly affect the supreme interests of the nations, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Samora Moises Machel believe that resolute and urgent measures must be taken to ease the international tension, to halt the course toward confrontation and war, to resume and consolidate the policy of detente, respect for national independence, peace, and cooperation among nations.

Both presidents expressed the conviction that such a policy should be based on strict observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equality of rights, nonintervention in internal affairs, nonrecourse to the use or threat of force, mutual advantage and interest, and each people's right to freely choose their future.

The two presidents emphasized that at present, consolidating national independence is essential for socioeconomic progress, for developing international economic cooperation on equal and equitable bases, and for eliminating the imperialist, colonialist, and neocolonialist policies. In the opinion of the two heads of state, the struggle to assert and consolidate national independence is one of the fundamental tasks of all the forces that support peace, freedom, progress, and cooperation.

The RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and the Frelimo chairman and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Comrade Samora Moises Machel examined in depth the situation in Africa and highly appreciated the determination of the African peoples and states to live in complete freedom, to consolidate their political and economic independence, and to expand the political and economic cooperation among themselves. At the same time, they expressed profound concern about manifestations of the imperialist, colonialist, and neocolonialist policy of interference in the internal affairs of independent and sovereign African states, and about attempts to halt the process of total liberation of the continent and the socioeconomic progress of the African states.

Reasserting the Romanian people's militant solidarity with and support for the Mozambican people and for the other African frontline states in their struggle for national independence, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu forcefully condemned the recent military aggressions staged by South Africa against the People's Republic of Mozambique and against other states in the area that are resolutely struggling to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity against interventions by the racist regime of Pretoria.

Examining the situation in Africa, the two heads of state vigorously condemned the racist policy promoted by the Pretoria authorities, and appealed for an immediate end to the policy of apartheid and to the oppression and discrimination to which the majority population of South Africa is subjected. Both sides reasserted their support for the African National Congress of South Africa, which is bravely struggling against apartheid, oppression, and exploitation in that country.

The Romanian and Mozambican presidents stressed the urgent need to secure Namibia's independence and the right of the Namibian people to independently choose their path of future development, in keeping with their legitimate aspirations and interests. They reasserted the two countries' militant solidarity with and complete support for the just struggle of the Namibian people, led by the South-West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], their sole legitimate representative. In this context, they expressed concern about the attempt to link Namibia's independence to any other problem. Both presidents also stressed that the international community and the United Nations must make intensive efforts to bring about efficient measures to permit Namibia's undelayed independence, on the basis of Resolution 435 of the Security Council.

Both presidents expressed concern about the continuation of armed conflicts among African states. They reasserted their conviction that the unity of the African states and peoples in their joint struggle for peace, security, and development, and for complete liberation from any form of oppression and domination can only be strengthened through the resolute implementation of the principles of the UN and OAU Charters and of the principles of respect for the territorial integrity of each state and for each people's right to freely choose its path of political, economic, and social development. The Romanian and Mozambican heads of state advocated political settlements to African problems, through direct negotiations, with a view to establishing a climate of peace, good-neighborliness, and cooperation among those countries.

At the same time, both presidents stressed that the OAU must persevere in promoting economic cooperation among its member states, with a view to consolidating national independence and consolidating African solidarity and unity of action. Along this line, both presidents expressed positive views about the results of the 19th OAU meeting of African heads of state and government, which they described as an important contribution to consolidating the solidarity and unity of action of those states and to achieving their fundamental objectives.

The Romanian and Mozambican presidents stressed the great importance that their countries attach to promoting security and cooperation in Europe. They called attention to the particularly grave situation existing on the continent, which has become a huge nuclear and conventional arsenal and where the most sophisticated means of mass destruction continue to be stockpiled, a situation which constitutes a great threat to peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

The two presidents stressed the need to halt the deployment of new intermediate-range missiles in Europe, to cut back and remove the existing ones, and to eliminate all nuclear weapons from Europe. They also emphasized the urgent need to turn Europe into a continent of peace, security, and fruitful cooperation.

The two heads of state hailed the agreement reached at the Madrid meeting, which paves the way for convening the 1984 a conference on confidence-building and disarmament measures and on developing the process of peace, security, detente, and cooperation in Europe. Both presidents stressed that any progress made in Europe along this line will have a positive effect on international peace, security, and stability.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Samora Moises Machel expressed profound anxiety about the grave tension and the complex situation in the Middle East. They reasserted their countries' positions in favor of a comprehensive settlement and of a just and lasting peace in that area, based on Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war, on recognition of the Palestinians right to self-determination and independent statehood, and on the integrity, independence, and sovereignty of all the states in the area.

Expressing the belief that the Palestinian problem is the key to solving the Middle East conflict, the sides reaffirmed their total solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people led by their legitimate representative, the PLO, and stressed that the PLO must participate in any negotiations on a political solution to the conflict in the area.

Noting that Israel's military actions in Lebanon have created new complications with very grave consequences for peace in the area, the two presidents expressed the view that resolute steps are necessary to bring about the withdrawal of all the Israeli troops from Lebanon, to ensure the peace, independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Lebanon, and to create conditions for reconciliation among all the national factions in Lebanon.

Both sides expressed concern about the presence of foreign military bases in the Indian Ocean area, a situation which threatens peace and stability in the area and the independence and sovereignty of the states in that part of the world. Romania and Mozambique support the legitimate aspirations of those peoples for turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace free of nuclear weapons, in accordance with the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Samora Moises Machel expressed profound concern about the unprecedented scope of the arms race and about the fact that enormous material, financial, and human resources are being used for military purposes. They stated that that constitutes an unbearable burden for all the peoples and a grave threat to international peace and security. Thus, they believe that the major international problem now is to halt the arms race and begin disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, so as to prevent the outbreak of a nuclear war which would endanger mankind itself.

The two presidents agreed that resolute steps should be taken to defend the supreme right of each nation and all people: the right to life, to freedom, and to peace.

They stated that specific and efficient measures should be immediately taken to halt the arms race and bring about general, primarily nuclear disarmament. The funds saved through cuts in military spending should be used to both solve the socioeconomic problems of the countries that proceed to such cuts, and to help along the socioeconomic progress of the developing countries.

Highlighting the grave consequences of world economic instability, of the persistence of the economic, energy, and monetary-financial crisis, and of underdevelopment in vast areas of the world for all the countries, the two presidents stated that one of the vital requirements for peace and security and for mankind's future is to eliminate underdevelopment, to gradually close the gaps between the levels of development of rich and poor countries, and to build a new world economic order.

Thus, it is decisively important to promote an extensive international economic cooperation by regulating international trade, abolishing protectionist measures, setting raw materials prices at levels that are profitable for the producers and fair for the consumers, working out special aid programs for the developing countries in the areas of agriculture, industry, transport, and so forth, effecting a substantial transfer of modern technology to those countries under advantageous conditions and helping them train national cadres, and encouraging the development of economic cooperation among the developing countries simultaneously with substantial increases in the funds allocated for aid.

Similarly, resolute measures are required to deal with the problem of the foreign debt of the developing countries, to cut back and stabilize interest rates at reasonable levels, and to ensure the developing countries' access to international credits under preferential terms.

Noting with anxiety that so far negotiations at the United Nations and in other international bodies have not yielded any significant results capable of contributing to a lasting recovery of world economy, and primarily to eliminating the obstacles preventing the economic progress of the developing countries and their more rapid development, the two presidents stressed that global negotiations must immediately begin at the United Nations in a spirit of constructive political good will and with the participation of all the states and in keeping with their legitimate interests.

The two presidents stressed the decisive role played by national efforts for ensuring economic progress in the developing countries; at the same time, they stressed that these countries should be given more substantial aid by the developed ones. Both heads of state emphasized the particular importance of expanding economic cooperation among the developing countries at both regional and international levels, with a view to strengthening their solidarity and unity of action.

Along this line, President Samora Moises Machel spoke about the importance of the activities carried out by the Conference for Development Coordination in Southern Africa within the framework of general efforts designed to establish a new world economic order and to reduce and eliminate their economic dependence, particularly on South Africa.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Samora Moises Machel expressed the belief that the United Nations Organization constitutes the most suitable forum for multilateral negotiations toward political settlements to all international problems, conflicts, and tension among states. For the international organization to fulfill its mission, its role and responsibilities should be enhanced, its authorities reinforced, its functions, structures, and activities democratized, its efficiency increased, and its working adapted to the current and future requirements and realities of the international community.

The two presidents expressed the view that all the states, regardless of size, system, or potential should actively and equally participate in solving problems of general interest.

In particular, the small and medium-sized countries, the developing and nonaligned states must play an increasingly important role in discussing and solving all of mankind's problems.

At the same time, both presidents stressed the importance of the Nonaligned Movement in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, and for peace, security, and national independence, for halting the arms race, for disarmament, and for a new world economic order.

In view of the common interests and concerns of the two countries and of their identical or close stands on international issues, Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Samora Moises Machel decided to intensify and expand consultations, cooperation, and mutual assistance between their countries at the United Nations and other international bodies, and within the "Group of 77" and the Nonaligned Movement, for the purpose of devising democratic and just solutions to the contemporary problems and promoting international peace, security, and cooperation.

Both sides highly appreciated the talks between the two heads of state, and stressed that the visit of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu to the People's Republic of Mozambique constitutes a very important event for strengthening and developing the fraternal relations of friendship and cooperation between the two peoples, parties, and states; at the same time, it will make an important contribution to the cause of international peace, socialism, and cooperation.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu expressed warm thanks to Comrade Samora Moises Machel and to the Mozambican Government and people for the cordial and particularly hospitable reception extended to them and to the other Romanian officials during their stay in Mozambique.

Comrade Nocolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, invited Comrade Samora Moises Machel, Frelimo chairman and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique to pay an official friendship visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania. The invitation was accepted with great pleasure.

Maputo, 19 July 1983

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Samora Moises Machel, Frelimo chairman, president of the People's Republic of Mozambique

DASCALESCU, EGYPT'S PREMIER START TALKS

AU271907 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1826 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 27/7/1983 -- Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu and Dr Fuad Muhyi ad-Din, prime minister of Egypt, conducted a first round of official talks in Bucharest during which they analysed the way in which the decisions made and understandings convenanted during the meetings and talks between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Muhammad Husni Mubarak -- moments of reference in the bilateral relations that gave fresh impulses to the development of the manysided collaboration between the two countries -- were being carried into effect.

Satisfaction was expressed during the talks that the fact that the traditional Romanian-Egyptian relations of friendship and collaboration witnessed an ascending course, both on a political plane and in other domains of joint interest. Special attention was paid to the analysis of the current stage of the translation into fact of the programme of measures regarding the development of the economic and technical cooperation and of the commercial exchanges between Romania and Egypt. Possibilities were also examined of initiating new cooperation ventures in domains of mutual interest: energy, oil exploration, drilling and refining, machine building, agriculture. During the talks it was stressed that the expansion and diversification of the mutually advantageous economic cooperation between the two countries were the objective foundation of the further consolidation of the friendly Romanian-Egypitan relations as a whole.

Views were also exchanged on major aspects of the current international political life, satisfaction being expressed at the fact that the governments of the two countries have similar or very close stands on the questions confronting mankind.

The two prime ministers highlighted the fact that the steady development of the cooperation between the two countries both bilaterally and internationally contributed to the promotion of understanding and cooperation between Romania and Egypt, in the interest and for the benefit of the Romanian and Egyptian peoples, of the general cause of peace, respect for national independence, of detente, progress and cooperation throughout the world.

The talks, which proceed in an atmosphere of warm friendship, are attended by Vasile Pungan, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, Ioan Avram, minister of machine building industry, Ion Lazarescu, minister of mines, Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs, Ilie Radulescu, director-general of the Romanian radio and television, Marcel Dinu, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Attending are also Safwat ash-Sharif, minister of state for information, Dr. Mustafa as-Said, minister of economy and foreign trade, Dr. Eng. Muhammad as-Sayid al-Gharuri, minister of industry and mineral wealth, Muhammad Said as-Sayyid, ambassador director of the Department for Eastern Europe of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Dinner for Muhyi ad-Din

AU271944 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1832 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 27/7/1983 -- Romania's Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu gave an official dinner on Wednesday, July 27, in honour of the prime minister of Egypt, Fu'ad Muhyi ad-Din. The dinner was attended by Gheorghe Oprea and Ion Dinca, first deputy prime ministers, and other Romanian officials, as well as by the officials accompanying the Egyptian premier on his Romanian visit.

Expressing satisfaction at the fine relations between Romania and Egypt, Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu and Fu'ad Muhyi ad-Din pointed in the toasts they proposed during the dinner to the decisive role of Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Muhammad Husni Mubarak in the steady deepening of the relations of friendship and productive collaboration between the two countries on multiple planes, as well as to the two governments' mutual wish to further develop those relations in the interests of their countries and peoples, of the cause of peace, progress, independent development and understanding throughout the world.

The two heads of government toasted to the good health of Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Muhammad Husni Mubarak, to the deepening and expansion of the relations of friendship and close collaboration between Romania and Egypt. The dinner passed in a friendly, cordial atmosphere.

'ARAFAT'S VISIT CONTINUES; HONORED AT DINNER

Spiljak Gives Dinner

LD272018 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1844 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] Belgrade 27 Jul (TANJUG) -- Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, has given a dinner in honor of Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, who is paying an official visit to our country. On that occasion the host and his guest exchanged toasts.

Talks Held

LD272112 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2020 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] Belgrade 27 Jul (TANJUG) -- Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, who is paying Yugoslavia an official 2-day visit, was received by Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, in the Palace of the Federation in Belgrade today. In a very cordial and warm atmosphere Spiljak and 'Arafat discussed the current international situaton, paying particular attention to developments in the Near East.

During their talks, the two delegations appraised the present international situation as very alarming and concluded that tension in international relations was reflected in the Near East crisis. In a long statement the leader of the Palestinian organization presented his view of the serious crisis situation in the Near East and briefed his host on the efforts being made by the PLO to strengthen the unity of all the Arab countries and on the efforts the PLO is making to strengthen the positions of its independent policy, views, and activity.

President Spiljak expressed anxiety over the present development of the situation in the Near East, especially because of the expansionist policy of Israel and its actions in Lebanon and the region. He expressed Yugoslav support for and interest in the consolidation of the Arab countries' unity and continuation of the PLO's activity in order to realize the Palestinian people's legitimate rights. During the Yugoslav-Palestinian talks, stress was laid on the role and significance of nonaligned countries in the sphere of dealing with international hotbeds of crisis. In this context, the nonaligned movement was able to further contribute to overcoming the present situation in the Near East. The importance of the decisions and document of the Seventh Summit of Nonaligned Countries in New Delhi and the Arab countries' summit in Fes were also stressed.

The two sides welcomed the intense diplomatic activity and efforts being made to overcome the present situation in the Near East so as to strengthen the role of the PLO as an important factor in the settling of the crisis in that region. They stressed in this connection that there was a broad basis for activity to satisfy the basic rights of the Palestinian people.

President Spiljak and Chairman 'Arafat stressed that these talks confirmed the continuity of good relations between Yugoslavia and the PLO and emphasized the importance of the time in which they were being held and in which the visit had taken place. Yasir 'Arafat's official friendly visit to Yugoslavia continues tomorrow.

SUNDIC ON REBELLION WITHIN FATAH

LD271518 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] The conflict between Yasir 'Arafat's supporters and his opponents has broken out again. Syrian troops in the Al-Biqa Valley as well as a Libyan battalion are rendering full support to the Fatah rebels. This means that there is no question of a reconciliation between Syrian President Al-Asad and Yasir 'Arafat, leader of the Palestinian revolution. On the contrary, everything is pointing to the conclusion that the conflict with Fatah has been engineered from the outset by extra-Palestinian factors and that its renewal at the present moment has the objective of removing Yasir 'Arafat.

Mediation by some Arab governments has not produced any results, partly because Syria simply does not want reconciliation with 'Arafat and his supporters. In fact, the Palestinians have found themselves in a crossfire because their equal participation in the solution of the Middle East crisis does not suit anyone. This could be fatal to the Palestinian revolution and to the Arab people of Palestine as a whole, especially if the assumption were to be proved right that the formation of an independent Palestinian state does not suit many countries, and not only Israel and the United States.

In their struggle for independence and their right to decide their own future, the Palestinians have relied for support on all progressive forces in the world and, of course, on the support of the Arab countries. It has been shown, however, that the disagreements in the Arab world and the ambitions of individual Arab countries are the greatest problems faced by the Palestinian revolution today. One could even say that the achievements of the Palestinian revolution are facing a serious threat. We say that we are not thinking only of the future of one man -- Yasir 'Arafat -- who is the leader of the PLO, but mainly of the attitude toward the Palestinians and their struggle.

Yugoslavia has always unhesitatingly supported the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for their freedom and independence, and it will continue to do so. The PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. It is tragic that a conflict within Fatah has occurred, and what is even more difficult is that the conflict is being fanned from outside with the object of guiding the PLO onto a road to which it does not aspire and which is not its road. Perhaps it is still not too late to halt the bloodshed among the Palestinians, but this implies the cessation of any interference in the internal affairs of the PLO and the selfless support for the just struggle waged by the Arab people of Palestine.

FURTHER ON FRG VISIT BY FOREIGN SECRETARY MOJSOV

'Yugoslav Statement'

LD261906 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1311 GMT 26 Jul 83

["Yugoslav Statement on Lazar Mojsov's Working Visit to the FRG" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade 26 Jul (TANJUG) -- Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs, paid a regular working visit to the FRG on 24 and 25 July this year at the invitation of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs.

The two ministers exchanged views on the state of bilateral cooperation and topical international issues during their informal talks held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere in Bischofsgruen near Bayreuth.

Both sides expressed satisfaction at the successful development of bilateral relations and cooperation, which are characterized by comprehensiveness and stability.

They supported the conclusions of the recent session of the Joint Committee for Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation and expressed the conviction that they would contribute to further intensification of economic cooperation and development of the whole spectrum of bilateral relations. Support was also expressed for efforts to further increase Yugoslav exports to the FRG and to have qualitatively higher participation of Yugoslav enterprises in complex joint activities both on a bilateral basis and for third markets. The Yugoslav side stressed the orientation toward expansion and consolidation instead of reduction and weakening of economic cooperation with other countries and especially with the country's traditional partners. In this connection, it was stressed that certain unsolved matters in the economic field and concerning greater cooperation in reintegrating Yugoslav workers returning from work abroad should be settled more quickly.

The Yugoslav side expressed the conviction that the FRG will continue efforts to prevent anti-Yugoslav activity of hostile emigres, which is of particular importance for further strengthening mutual trust.

During the talks, particular attention was devoted to the forthcoming state visit of President Karl Carstens to Yugoslavia. It was stressed that the visit will symbolize the successful and stable development of bilateral relations and cooperation and that it will give them a fresh, important impetus toward further enrichment.

All the most important topical questions were covered during the talks on international themes. The most attention was paid to problems in Europe, East-West relations, arms reduction and disarmament, North-South relations, current hotbeds of crisis, and the nonaligned countries' activities and role in efforts to overcome international tension.

Both sides judged that international relations are burdened by a series of complex crises and problems and that this causes general and deep anxiety.

With the aim of halting the present unfavorable trends, attention was drawn to the need to strengthen international trust and cooperation and to reaffirm dialogue as the only valid way of resolving disputed problems.

In this regard, s tisfaction was expressed at the successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and it was stressed that this has great importance for international relations as a whole.

The hope was expressed that the successful conclusion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe would have a positive effect on the development of the situation in Europe and on East-West relations in general, and that it would have an encouraging effect on the Geneva nuclear arms reduction talks. In connection with these talks, both sides expressed support for all initiatives that could contribute to progress on this important issue in international relations.

In connection with the Sixth UNCTAD session, both sides stressed that, despite its modest results, the session confirmed the growing interdependence of the developed and developing countries and their dependence on cooperation and that it ensured continuation of the dialogue, thus strengthening hope for the future. The two sides advocated the speediest renewal, within the UN framework, of global talks on development.

The two ministers agreed that nonaligned countries, as an independent political factor, have an important positive role to play in the efforts being made to overcome the present crisis in international political and economic relations. The Yugoslav side explained the main lines of the nonaligned countries' activities at this juncture. Particular attention was drawn to the significance of the initiative taken by the Seventh Summit in New Delhi in connection with the participation of the heads of state or government in the opening stages of this year's session of the UN General Assembly.

The two sides expressed anxiety at the unsatisfactory situation in many regions, especially those containing long-lasting hotbeds of crisis. They reiterated their resolute opposition to any forms of the use of force, pressures, or intervention in dealing with such hotbeds and advocated the peaceful resolution of all disputes, in keeping with the principles, goals, and decisions of the United Nations.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs, accepted the invitation to pay a working visit to Yugoslavia next year.

FRG Reportage

For German reportage on the 2-day meeting between FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and SFRY Foreign Secretary Lazar Mojsov, see the Federal Republic of Germany section of the Western Europe DAILY REPORT for 25 and 26 July.

CKREBIC LEADS DELEGATION TO CUBAN CELEBRATION

LD221016 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0756 GMT 22 Jul 83

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jul (TANJUG) -- Dusan Ckrebic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and president of the Serbian LC Central Committee, left Belgrade today for Havana, where he will head the Yugoslav delegation at the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks, which was of historical importance for the victory of the Cuban revolution.

At Belgrade Airport, Dusan Ckrebic was seen off by Dobrivoje Vidic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Momcilo Vicentijevic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium; and other personalities. Also present was Castro Benitez, charge d'affaires of the Embassy of the Republic of Cuba to the SFRY.